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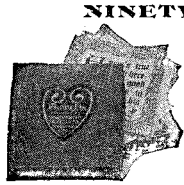

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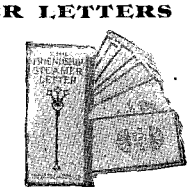

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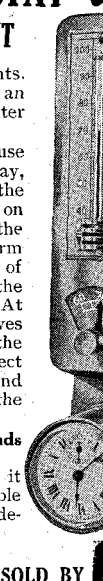

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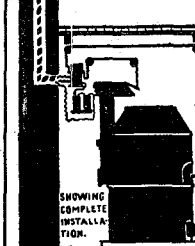

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The Outlook

NOVEMBER 6, 1909

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THE BISMARCK OF JAPAN

The whole world was shocked by the news that Prince Hirobumi Ito, Japan's foremost statesman, had been assassinated at Harbin, Manchuria. Prince Ito had just arrived at the railway station to meet the Russian Minister of Finance. The subjects to be discussed were supposed to concern important affairs of administration in Manchuria and the arranging of a harmonious understanding as to identical courses of administration in the Russian and Japanese railway zones granted by China in the northern and southern portions of her great northeastern province. The murderer was a Korean. On being questioned, he said: "I came to Harbin for the sole purpose of assassinating Prince Ito to avenge my country." Prince Ito died almost instantly. Thus passes away one who has not unjustly been called the Bismarck of Japan. Certainly he was a foremost maker of modern Japan. He was born in 1841. His father belonged to the Samurai, or feudal fighting class, in the town of Shimonoseki, in the province of Choshiu, at the western entrance to the Inland Sea. In those days the Lord of Choshiu was one of the strongest vassals of Japan. His province, together with that of Satsuma, Admiral Togo's birthplace, bred the best fighters and the best thinkers. But the Lord of Choshiu was restive and made common cause with the Lord of Satsuma in the incipient rebellion due to the foreigners' inroads. Young Ito, in company with his boon companion, Inouye, conceived the idea of escaping from Japan and going to England to learn more about foreigners and their ways. A Scotch whaler happened to be anchored in the Strait of Shimonoseki. Although the law in those days forbade any subjects leaving the country, under penalty of death, it did not deter the two young men from swimming out to the whaler. On Ito's head there was strapped an English dictionary, and with its help the Japanese boys convinced the Scotch skipper that they wanted to sail away with him. He accepted the volunteer addition to his crew, and Ito swabbed the decks and pulled on the sheets all the way to England. It is claimed by some Japanese, however, that the two boys had already obtained the permission of the Lord of Choshiu to carry out their scheme, that he had given them money for their expenses, but that by mistake they were shipped as common sailors. In England Ito realized that Japan could never hope to withstand the combined strength of the foreigners, and, with Inouye, he decided to go back home and advise the Japanese to adopt the foreign civilization. They did so; but when they ventured to voice their opinions, they were nearly killed by a mob of frantic patriots. Inouye was left for dead with wounds which left permanent scars, but Ito escaped by concealment under a bundle of kimonos and obis (the Japanese sashes used by the women over their kimonos). This ruse was due to a young girl who later became Ito's wife. Meanwhile there had been trouble between the foreign governments and the nobles, including the Lord of Choshiu, resulting in the defeat of the Japanese troops by the allied foreign navies. The port of Kobe was the first port in Japan to be opened to foreigners, and Ito, imbued with foreign ideas, was appointed its first Governor. A year later he was transferred to the Central Government at Tokyo, as Vice-Minister of Public Works. His later career was an unbroken succession of responsible offices until he became Prime Minister. He held that office five times, and advanced his title from "Mr." to "Marquis" and "Prince."

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PRINCE ITO'S MARK ON HISTORY

Three great triumphs marked Prince Ito's Premiership. The first came in 1890, when, having been the strongest leader in formulating the Constitution under which Japan is now governed, he witnessed its promulgation. The next was five years later, when, at the close of the Chino-Japanese War, he signed with Li-Hung-Chang the Treaty of Shimonoseki. The third came in 1899, when he led his country to the proud position of freedom from laws of extraterritoriality, thus finally placing Japan on a par with the civilized Powers. Prince Ito resigned his last Premiership to fill the chair of President of the newly created House of Peers, the upper house of the Japanese Parliament, established by the Constitution. How great a share he took in the task of the preparation for the Russo-Japanese War can only be guessed, but it is certain that his moderation opened the way for the Peace of Portsmouth. He was naturally included in the popular uproar against the Government when the terms of that treaty of peace were proclaimed, and for a considerable time was one of the best-hated men in Japan by the small politicians and city roughs. They even tore his statue from its pedestal. But he was above the wrath of the mob or the later disapproval of certain militant forces in Japan. He showed his independence in his course as Resident-General of Korea. In 1905, two months after the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth, he went to Korea and attempted to administer the government of that land, now under Japanese control, in harmony with his own ideals. Perhaps no pro-consul ever undertook a more difficult task. He had to rebuild a decayed state and remold a people so mediæval that some of them committed suicide when they found that the overlordship was more Japanese than they had expected. This could not have altogether surprised Prince Ito, since the custom of *hara-kiri* is still somewhat prevalent in Japan. But the Koreans were mediæval in a sense in which the Japanese never were, and their weakness aroused brutal methods on the part of some individual Japanese, methods which cannot be laid to the charge of Prince Ito. A man of broad, far-seeing views, his considerateness and authority were everywhere acknowledged. Already the greatest of the "Genro," or Elder Statesmen, he was also President of the Privy Council, and thus the Emperor's chief adviser. It is hardly too much to say that no Japanese has so long and so unbrokenly been the firm friend of progress. His death will occasion sincere mourning, not only in his own country, but also beyond its bounds. His regard for foreigners when it was not the fashion to regard them favorably in Japan only deepened as the years went on, and his skill, tact, and fairness in Japan's foreign relations were constantly evident. He visited this country repeatedly, and incorporated the American principles of finance into the fiscal system of his own country. He was a genuine friend of the United States, and exerted his influence continually to prevent any possible misunderstanding. His tragic end terminates an existence which covers the whole history of modern Japan more intimately than that of any other Japanese. In appearance Prince Ito was more impressive-looking than are most Japanese. While short, he was a very large man, with broad shoulders and deep chest. His appearance indicated great strength. His mustache and beard were more bushy than are those of the majority of his countrymen, and his features were striking. His speech was noticeable for a frankness and expansive cordiality not altogether Oriental. Wherever he went he was at once a marked figure. Certainly among modern statesmen he held a place in the first rank, and his name must ever be connected with Japan's rebirth and present Imperial position.

INJUSTICE FRUSTRATED

A few months ago two men, one black and one white, both of them Americans, were charged with libeling a commercial company in the Congo because they protested against the wrongs which that company in its greed had perpetrated on the natives. They were summoned to go hundreds of miles through the jungle, far away from witnesses who were abundant, to defend themselves before the court of a Government which was the partner of that company. These men have now

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been released. One of them, Dr. Morrison, a white missionary, was exonerated by the withdrawal of the charges against him; and two weeks later, on October 5, Dr. Sheppard, the colored missionary, was acquitted. Such despatches as have been received in this country indicate that the ground for the acquittal was that the company had failed to prove that it had suffered any damages. Those, however, who know Congo affairs, and who have taken the pains to read the report of the Commissioners appointed by King Leopold himself to investigate conditions there, could hardly expect the Government of the Congo to acknowledge that there was any ground for the complaint which these missionaries made. The Christian Observer, an organ of the Southern Presbyterian Church, of which these men were missionaries, publishes the diary which Dr. Sheppard kept on his way from his mission station to Leopoldville, where he was tried. In the simplest and most sincere language, uncolored by any resentment at the outrage, he tells of his experiences. He had written a short article telling how the Kassai Rubber Company had forced the Bakiba tribe to leave their homes and spend from five to fifteen days every month cutting rubber vines, and to spend the rest of the month in beating out the rubber. The wrong of this did not lie so much in the reckless waste of resources, although the waste is reckless, as in the virtual enslavement of these natives. It is true that they receive some compensation, but it is ridiculously meager. The consequence to the natives is twofold: first and foremost, an exterminating death rate; and, in the second place, the destruction of the wealth of their country. Letters sent to those in authority asking them to investigate conditions brought only replies that the writers were meddlesome missionaries. As a consequence of the publication of this article, charges were brought, which, if sustained, would mean a sixteen-thousand-dollar fine and five years' imprisonment for each of the two. For two hundred miles Dr. Sheppard had to travel over land, and for the rest of the way he had to go by boat. He started on July 17, and reached Leopoldville on September 3. Two incidents on the way are worthy of special citation. As he, with his companions, arrived at Musenga, King Lukenga came out to welcome him. There is no telegraph wire strung up along a route through the jungle, but the King had received notice of the coming of this missionary by the wireless telegraphy of the wooden drums that are beaten by the natives according to an understood code. The King brought gifts of food and water and offered help to the man who was suffering because he had pleaded the cause of the native. At N'Gela Dr. Sheppard was told that at a place four miles away a white man lay sick. This was an agent of this same Kassai Rubber Company that was prosecuting him. After a hard journey he arrived at the lonely post. For five days Dr. Sheppard worked over this dangerously sick man. Dr. Sheppard writes:

> Night came on, and his house was without a candle—no light, no medicine, no comrade, and ten days without food.
>
> July 25. Our patient is still very low. Early this morning we beat up the whites of three eggs and fed them to him. At 12 noon we were able to change his sheets. At 3 P.M. he asked for a cup of tea. We have given him a little stimulant every two hours. Our patient is restless; we have bathed his hands, feet, and head in cold water.
>
> July 26. At three o'clock this A.M. our patient's temperature went up again, and he was very restless, burning up with fever. At 5 A.M. we had it down again. I have not taken off my clothes since reaching here.

So the days continued, until, when it was time for Dr. Sheppard to leave, his patient was getting well. This is the kind of man who has stood up against not only a rubber company, but King Leopold's powerful Congo Government, and has asked for justice on behalf of an oppressed people. Cannot the powerful nations of Great Britain and the United States do at least as much as this colored missionary?

THE CZAR IN ITALY

Next to being the Czar of Russia, the most onerous and difficult position in Europe would seem to be that of being his host. The terrible conditions created by centuries of misrule in Russia travel with the Czar; and the tremendous fact that we create our own companions and fashion our own future was never more dramatically illustrated than in the case of

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the Ruler of All the Russias; only in his case it is the dynasty personified in him that is being reckoned with. He has recently been making a journey into Italy, and has been guarded from one end of the country to the other as he is guarded in his own palace. Four armies have been drawn upon to protect him. Russian troops lined the entire railway from Odessa to the German frontier; German troops and police guarded almost every foot of ground over which the Emperor passed in Germany; when he arrived at Belfort, on the French frontier, on his journey to Modane, on the Italian frontier, he was met by a detachment of French troops, who stood sentinel over him while he crossed France. When he crossed the Italian frontier, the energies of an army corps were at his command between Modane and Racconigi. Twenty thousand Italian troops lined the railways, with patrols marching along the line investigating every farm-house, and automobiles dashing along the roads with Italian and Russian police officers. Every house on every street through which the Emperor passed was under police surveillance. All travel and indeed all the ordinary occupations of life were paralyzed the moment this unfortunate man appeared on the horizon. The fact that the Czar went a long way around in order not to cross Austrian soil is regarded in Europe as significant of the Russian resentment of the Austro-German treatment of Russia in the crisis last spring. There are, of course, fanatical Anarchists outside of Russia who have no personal resentment against the Czar, but who would enjoy the opportunity of killing an Emperor as they enjoyed the opportunity of killing the Empress of Austria a few years ago. Against these lunatics a ruler in these days, whether he is a Czar of Russia or President of the United States, must be protected; but in the case of the Ruler of All the Russias, the specter that always stands in his path is the emanation of his own offenses against humanity, no less than the sins of his ancestors. There have been many surmises as to the significance of this visit. Does it mean that the Triple Alliance of Italy, Germany, and Austria-Hungary is weakened and is to pass into history? Does it mean that Italy, which has been cultivating more friendly relations with France, is also cultivating more friendly relations with Russia, allied with France as a balance to the Triple Alliance? That the Triple Alliance has been immensely weakened by the decline of Russian power is obvious. The question that is agitating Europe is, Is there to be a realignment of the Great Powers?

A NOTABLE BY-ELECTION

The result of no by-election in recent years has been waited for with greater anxiety in England than that which took place in Bermondsey on Thursday of last week. Bermondsey is in Southwark, one of the most densely populated sections of London. Political sentiment for a number of years past has been uncertain, though at the last general election the place gave the Liberals a majority of 1,759. The fact that it was a district of shifting opinion made it in a certain sense a barometer of the political feeling in England at a time when the country is facing a grave crisis. To add to the uncertainty, there was a Socialist candidate in the field, and the three parties invaded the district in force. The unfortunate electors have been almost in a state of siege, and the presence of a host of persistent, nagging, militant Suffragettes has not added to their peace of mind. Half the population, it is reported, have been in such a state of mind that they refused to answer their door-bells. The Unionists carried the district on Thursday by a majority which fell just short of a thousand. The Socialist candidate received 1,435 votes; but for this vote the Liberal candidate would, in all probability, have been elected. When the news was received in the House of Commons at eleven o'clock at night, the Unionists arose *en masse* and cheered with the persistence of an American National Convention. The day was marred by a most un-English incident. Members of the Women's Freedom League, the aggressive organization of the Suffragettes, gained admission to two polling-booths, and, for the purpose of invalidating the election, threw bottles of corrosive acid on the polling-boxes. The bottles broke and the acid was splashed upon the election officers, several of whom were so

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severely burned as to require medical attention, and it is feared that one man will lose his sight. The Suffragettes could not have employed any method more out of key with the best Anglo-Saxon traditions of popular government, nor any which will more seriously discredit them. Mrs. Pankhurst, who is now speaking in this country, and who, it is to be hoped, will be heard with respectful attention wherever she goes, is constantly appealing to Revolutionary examples for justification of feminine violence; but the colonists who led the Revolution against English rule did not pull door-bells nor throw acid. These are not the methods of either manly or womanly agitation.

PORK BARREL POLITICS

We doubt whether any one knows how or when, or from what application of what story, the phrase "the National pork barrel" has come into use. If not a very elegant simile, it is at least an expressive one, and suggests a graphic picture of Congressmen eager for local advantage going, one after another, to the National pork barrel to take away their slices for home consumption. Last week President Taft, in very plain and colloquial terms, gave his opinion of that method of distributing the National resources. With a large party he made the descent of the Mississippi River, at the invitation of the Deep Water Association. It is the earnest wish of this Association to bring about, through National aid, the construction of a fourteen-foot channel from Chicago to New Orleans which shall be so guarded and protected that navigation shall be uninterrupted and rapid, in order that the commerce of the river may be multiplied and the distribution of the country's agricultural and commercial products be aided. In speaking of this subject at St. Louis, before an audience which included, it is reported, one hundred and seventy-seven Congressmen, Mr. Taft expressed the belief that the time has come when, in the expenditure of money for the development of our waterways, certain consistent principles should be followed. These principles are hardly open to dispute when fairly presented. The first was thus stated by the President: "The method which I favor is this: That we should take up every comprehensive project on its merits, and we should determine by all of the means at our command whether the country in which that project is to be carried out is so far developed as to justify the expenditure of a large sum in carrying out the project, and whether the project will be useful when done." If this preliminary proof shall be furnished, Mr. Taft declared himself willing and eager to carry on the work as rapidly as possible, and as being in favor of issuing National bonds to pay the expense, but he added: "It's no use pouring millions into the river unless the millions are going to do some good. The question requires earnest study; the same sort of study that a man would give who owned the river and expected to put capital into its development." This was very plain speaking, but the President's position was made even clearer in the following declaration: "Now there is a proposition that we issue $500,000,000 or $1,000,000,000 of bonds for a waterway, and then that we just apportion part to the Mississippi and part to the Atlantic, a part to the Missouri and a part to the Ohio. I am opposed to it. I am opposed to it because it not only smells of the pork barrel, but it will be the pork barrel itself. Let every project stand on its bottom." In a later speech Mr. Taft expressed a personal impression that the deepening of the Mississippi waterway should follow rather than precede the completion of the work planned for the Ohio River. He again made it plain, however, that what is important is not to take the several parts of the general problem one by one and work spasmodically at each, but to determine in advance whether the entire project as a whole is feasible and likely to be profitable to the interests of the Nation at large, and then, if it seems desirable that it should be carried out, to plan and finance it as a whole, and keep it free from all "pork barrel" influences. Mr. Cannon, on the other hand, would oppose such broad control of the waterways appropriations as is now had over the Panama Canal appropriation, and evidently loves the good old way, so often exemplified in Rivers and Harbors bills, of specifying by legislation the exact expenditure in each

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of many localities, and thereby encouraging among Congressmen a disgraceful scramble and log-rolling interminable.

A NEW CONSERVATION FIGHT

A National Conservation Association has been formed. It is to have offices in New York City and Washington. The officers are: President, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, of Cambridge, Massachusetts; Vice-President, Mr. Walter L. Fisher, of Chicago; and Secretary, Mr. Thomas R. Shipp, of Indianapolis, Indiana. Mr. Shipp was Secretary of the White House Conservation Conference. The Chairman of the Executive Council is Mr. John F. Bass, and the Director is Mr. Royal L. Melendy. Dr. Eliot is personally directing the work of the Association, assisted by an Executive Committee consisting of Messrs. Henry L. Stimson, of New York; James R. Garfield, of Cleveland; Bernard N. Baker, of Baltimore; Charles L. Pack, of Lakewood, New Jersey; Joseph N. Teal, of Portland, Oregon; Walter L. Fisher and John F. Bass, of Chicago. The object of the Association is to make a practical application of the conservation principles which have been generally indorsed by the people of the country. While the field of conservation covers a very wide range of subjects, the Association intends to confine its efforts to the most important and urgent of these subjects. It expects to make specific application of the principles for which the Governors of the United States declared at their conference with President Roosevelt at the White House in 1908, and to apply these principles to definite measures both in the States and in the National Government. The influence of such a body of men, representing the whole body of American citizenship, should be vital and far-reaching. The Association's purpose is thus set forth:

> We therefore form this Association to advocate and support the adoption by the people themselves, and by their representatives, of definite and practical measures for carrying the foregoing principles into effect, and to oppose in all appropriate ways all action which is in conflict with these principles, whether such action is attempted by individual citizens, members of legislatures, or administrative officials.

Among the most important measures advocated in the general conservation scheme, which includes forests, waters, lands, and minerals, is that relating to water power rights. The Association advocates legislation safeguarding the grant of such rights. In particular, it would incorporate into future grants of water power rights provisions to secure prompt development, the payment of reasonable compensation for the benefits granted by the people, the limitation of grants to periods not exceeding fifty years, and the recognition of the right of the authorities to make proper regulations as to rates and services. As was anticipated, President Taft gave the organization his approval, as follows, and was enrolled as its first member:

> I am glad to hear that the National Conservation Association has been formed under such a distinguished and capable leader, and with a membership open to every American citizen. Our people cannot do a more useful thing for themselves and for posterity than to give personal consideration to the great issues involved in what we have come to call the conservation movement. It is of greatest importance that this movement should proceed both wisely and effectively, and the National Conservation Association should be a valuable instrumentality for accomplishing this result. I shall be glad to have you enroll my name in its membership.

MUNICIPAL ISSUES IN NEW YORK

Before this issue of The Outlook has reached its readers the results of the election in New York City will have been known and published all over the country. In order that our readers may understand the significance of that election, we here simply recapitulate what has already been stated in The Outlook regarding the issues involved and the candidates nominated. Although on the official ballot there were nineteen party columns, there were virtually, aside from the minor party nominations, only three candidates for the mayoralty and only two sets of candidates for the other principal offices of the city. The ticket nominated by the regular Democratic organization was really the ticket of Tammany Hall. The nominee for the mayoralty on this ticket was ex-Judge William J. Gaynor. The anti-Tammany ticket had two heads. Of these the one supported by the Fusion forces, including the Republican organization, the Citizens' Union, and

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many independent Democrats, was Mr. Otto T. Bannard. The other, supported by those Radicals who were dissatisfied with Mr. Gaynor's Tammany nomination and with the Fusion forces' acceptance of Mr. Bannard as a nominee, was Mr. William R. Hearst. In New York City the financial and business control of municipal affairs is in the hands of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment; in this Board the Mayor has but three votes out of sixteen. On the other hand, in important matters such as the appointment of the heads of departments, in the vetoing of local bills, and the like, the Mayor has very great power. If the Tammany candidate is elected with the rest of the Tammany ticket, Tammany Hall will control not only the financial and business side of municipal affairs, but also the police and other departments of the city government. If the Tammany candidate for Mayor is elected, but the rest of the ticket defeated by the Fusion candidates, Tammany Hall will be in charge of the police and other important administrative departments, but the anti-Tammany forces will control the city's purse and will determine its business policy. If Mr. Hearst should be elected as Mayor, he will control the departments, but he will be limited in his action by a Board which is not as radical as he has been. If Mr. Bannard is elected, the whole force of the city government will be surely anti-Tammany. From the speeches that have been made in the campaign it may be fairly inferred that if Mr. Gaynor is elected there will be more concern lest a criminal may be unjustly apprehended than that society be adequately protected against the criminal classes. If Mr. Hearst is elected, it is not easy to forecast what power the city government will exert over the forces of disorder. If Mr. Bannard is elected, it may safely be inferred that all the power of the city government will be directed against crime. As to the issues raised in the campaign, the election of a Tammany ticket will mean, probably, the continuance of a lavish and extravagant financial policy, and the attempt to extend transit facilities under conditions which will be financially advantageous to Tammany favorites; if the anti-Tammany ticket is elected, it means at least an attempted reformation of the city's financial methods, and the extension of the transit system under conditions that will be economically advantageous.

LABOR UNIONS AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

At the meeting of the American Federation of Labor, held in Denver in the spring, an Industrial Education Committee was appointed to report on what systems of industrial education would be beneficial to organized labor. This Committee consisted of John Mitchell, for years the head of the United Mine Workers, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor; Frank Morrison, an eminent labor leader; United States Commissioner of Labor Neill; Representative Wilson, of Pennsylvania; Charles H. Winslow, a member of the late Massachusetts Commission on Industrial Education; Charles Stelzle, of New York City, the well-known writer on labor topics; and a number of other labor and educational leaders. This Committee has been actively engaged in bringing together from all sources material which bears on the question of industrial education, and especially the recent development of the movement for industrial education in this country. A report of the Committee is to be made at the convention to be held in Toronto, but the meeting of the Committee held at the Arlington Hotel, Washington, on October 22 and 23, is highly significant of the nature of this report. A number of educators who are prominent in the industrial education world were invited to address the meeting, so that a fair and unbiased presentation of the claims of industrial education was obtained. Among the speakers were Leslie W. Miller, of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Arts, and John M. Shrigley, President of the Williamson School for Mechanical Trades, both of whom have had a wide experience in the preparation for trades, and have conducted almost ideal schools in their respective fields. These men are strong in their advocacy of the efficiency of the school-trained industrial worker; and they speak whereof they know. Charles F. Richards, of Cooper Union, New York City, spoke of what Europe is doing for young people in giving them preparation

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for industrial life, and what should be done in the United States for that large number of youth who leave school at fourteen or fifteen years of age and drift into various industries. A wide experience was represented in the testimony given, and in the views presented by practical workers among those engaged in important industries. James Wilson, President of the Pattern Makers' League, Cincinnati, pleaded for trade schools. Representative W. B. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, the miners' statesman, would have the higher public education divided—one part along professional lines, the other along mechanical lines. Miss Ella M. Haas, of the Department of Inspection of Workshops and Factories in Ohio, expressed the belief that the lack of technical training for women was one of the main causes of divorce. C. W. Cross, Superintendent of Apprentices, New York Central Railroad, said that the shops are in straits for lack of well-prepared machinists. Hugh Frayne, of the Sheet Metal Workers, Scranton, thought that industrial courses should be introduced into the public schools, but trade schools should not be established in great numbers. Vice-President James Duncan indorsed the introduction of industrial training in the last grade of grammar schools. Thus the position of industrial education in relation to general education was freely discussed. Some members of the Federation think that industrial education should come as a part of the public school system, where all can avail themselves of its advantages on equal terms. Other members are opposed to this, and claim that such general industrial education will put increased power into the hands of capitalists. It seems likely that the former view will be adopted, and that public school industrial education, after the pupil has reached the age of fourteen, will be advocated, but with what reservations and restrictions remains yet to be decided. It must be remembered that the Federation is already committed to the plan of increasing the period of compulsory education by extending the age limit to sixteen years, and the feeling exists that these last two years should be devoted to the direct preparation for the work to be done in the world. The opinion has been widespread that the labor organizations are doing what they can to oppose the general introduction of industrial education, but the attitude of the higher labor tribunals seems to be a desire, not to oppose, but properly to guide and safeguard the great industrial education movement which has so plainly come to stay, and which is yet in its infancy.

THE CHILD CONFERENCE FOR RESEARCH AND WELFARE

The Child Conference at Clark University last July was effective because it was constructive. It resulted in the establishment of what exists nowhere else in the world—a means of unifying the work done for the welfare of children by existing organizations—the Child Conference for Research and Welfare. The temporary offices are at 6 King Street, Worcester, Massachusetts, and the General Secretary is Henry S. Curtis, late Secretary of the Playground Association of America. Dr. Curtis outlines the aims of the Conference as follows: "It is founded on the belief that bringing together the specialists in child study and the workers from the different movements for the welfare of children will be sure to result in more unified, harmonious, and effective action." It is planned to publish authoritative résumés of the work of all movements relating to children in all lands, to make available to the public the special researches and the results of scientific investigations made in child welfare each year, and possibly to establish a lengthened Conference or summer school of four or five weeks' duration "which should offer the best sort of training for practical workers and inspiration to every one." The amount of money needed for the Conference is small in comparison with its immense usefulness to the well-being of the children of America and the ultimate economy coming to every family in spreading a knowledge of wise methods of training children and preventing disease, vice, and crime among them. Some lover of children ought to endow this work. The chief element hampering the devoted workers with children has been duplication of effort and lack of knowledge of what others have done and learned, often

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by costly experimentation. If adequate funds are at hand, the Child Conference should be very helpful as a publicity agent and a clearing-house for information relating to children. Another definite result of the July Conference was the announcement of the opening of the new Bureau of Childhood at Clark University. Three departments have now been opened, and others will be added as the work progresses. The Library Department is designed to record and classify all observations obtainable from other departments. An idea of its scope is gained from realizing that there are twenty-six periodicals published to-day—exclusive of educational journals—devoted to the study of childhood in different lands. In 1903–5 753 school bills were passed by different State Legislatures of the Union. The Library Department should become of notable usefulness to educational and legislative committees. Another department is that of Child Language, which is designed to make special investigations into the simplest and best methods of teaching English and other languages—because all methods may be improved by study of the careful records of infant vocabularies and the speech errors of children. The department which is of especial interest is that having in hand the tests of subnormal or defective children, for it is probable that many children classed to-day as normal are in reality subnormal. Indeed, we have no adequate means of knowing definitely, at the present time, whether a given child is normal or subnormal—a statement which is so true that it may not be accepted, and may even be resented, by proud and sensitive parents. These means can be provided only by exact study. No up-to-date business in the United States to-day ignores, without serious money loss, the results of scientific study which bear upon it. Many interests employ high-salaried scientific experts to make researches for them, finding large reimbursement in greatly increased profits. We are likewise beginning to recognize the need of scientific study of childhood, and soon the time will come when Congress, by means of suitable appropriations through the Department of the Interior, will authorize the Bureau of Education to carry on what the Commissioner so earnestly wishes, but for which funds are not available, namely, investigation and research with children along lines parallel with what the Department of Agriculture has been doing for so many years with plants and animals to the notable economic advantage of the whole country.

THE DISCIPLES' CENTENNIAL

Even in a land where big conventions and conferences are common the centennial Convention of the Christian Church in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, from the 11th to the 19th of October, was an impressive assemblage. It is estimated that it gathered together some fifty thousand people. When the communion service was held in the open air on Forbes Field, the people there numbered between twenty-five and thirty thousand. The Convention was called to celebrate the origins of a denomination which to-day includes some two million adherents. Like many other denominations, this one arose from a movement which had as its object, not the creation of a new sect, but the reform or revivification of the existing organized Church. Classic examples of similar movements resulting in a distinctive organization are those of Wesley and of the Unitas Fratrum, which resulted respectively in the Methodist and Moravian bodies. As the Methodist movement was for the purpose of vitalizing a torpid if not moribund Church, and as the Moravian movement was for the purpose of arousing the missionary spirit in a self-centered and partly paganized Church, so the movement led by Alexander Campbell was one for the purpose of softening the creedal rigidity and stringent sectarianism of the evangelical Churches. We of to-day can hardly understand the animosity with which various denominations in America regarded one another a hundred years ago. The more nearly related the denominations, the more bitter seemed to be the spirit. When Alexander Campbell, a native of Ireland, came from Glasgow, where he had been studying, to America, he found that his father, who had preceded him, had been disciplined because, as minister of one brand of Presbyterian Church, he had invited to the communion table Presbyterians of another brand. Alexander

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Campbell had already been animated with the intention of spreading the spirit of liberty among the churches, and he found his father ready to join him. Together these two Campbells urged among the Presbyterians the adoption of a platform accepting "the Word of God without note or comment" and the adoption of the name "Christian" without qualification. Because Alexander Campbell and his colleagues did not find in the New Testament any command establishing infant baptism, they insisted that the only valid baptism was adult immersion. To-day this insistence on a particular rite seems inconsistent with the purposes that Campbell had in mind, but, under the circumstances in which he lived, it was significant of his breadth of mind; for it was based upon the idea that, since infant baptism and baptism by sprinkling were rejected by some Christians, whereas adult immersion was accepted as a valid form of baptism by all Christians, adult immersion could be made a common basis for all. As in other religious movements, the original purpose has been frequently forgotten by those who call themselves the followers of its founder. The term "Christian" or "Disciple," once adopted as a protest against sectarianism, has, by force of circumstances, become the name of a very distinct and powerful denomination, and immersion, adopted as a liberalizing practice, became in time a barrier against others who were equally entitled to the name Christian. In years past, contention marked by acerbity has characterized in certain localities the relations between churches of the Disciples, which believe in immersion, and Baptist churches, which also believe in immersion. Those days, however, are happily passing. It was not without significance that the final meeting of this convention of Disciples at Pittsburgh was held in a Baptist church. The fact that the days of sectarian warfare are passing is due in no small degree to the influence which Campbell set in motion, and to the existence of the denomination which, tracing its descent from him, has existed for a hundred years without a formal creed and with remarkable freedom of organization combined with striking unity of feeling. The one address which aroused the greatest interest and called forth the most pronounced expressions of dissent at the Convention was given by a layman, Colonel S. H. Church. He urged that the spirit of Alexander Campbell and his colleagues be given greater sway in dealing with the particular problems of to-day; that insistence upon immersion as a requisite for discipleship be frankly abandoned by the Disciples; that the principle of religious union be frankly acknowledged as including the Roman Catholic and the Jew; that the Disciples accept the knowledge that modern criticism of the Bible has brought; and that they cease to build churches in small communities already supplied with churches bearing other names. In spite of the fact that the Convention by a large majority passed a resolution specifically disavowing the conclusions which Colonel Church reached, his address was the most significant single feature of the Convention.

SIGNALING FOR CONVERSATION

An American who had been riding for several hours in a compartment in an English railway train with several Englishmen wrapped in impenetrable silence finally said: "Gentlemen, I have never committed murder, and if any one here is equally free from crime, I should like to talk with him." There is a delightful story in Kinglake's "Eöthen" of two Englishmen meeting in the desert with no other company than their camels and their Arab guides and attendants, separated by many miles of barren sand from any other human fellowship. They raised their hats and passed without a word; but their servants, being more human, stopped in the solitude and began to gossip. Englishmen are not unaware of the national unsociability which always strikes a chill to the heart of an American until he becomes accustomed to it. For the American loves company, and will talk with any decent person who happens to be in his neighborhood, while the Englishman shuns company and retires to his club to get away from it. Mr. Stead, who is nothing if not original, has devised a scheme the object of which is "to get rid of the loneliness of London—one of its greatest curses; to overcome the prevalent stand-offishness, to avoid the formal-

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ity of introductions, and promote friendly feelings among people who otherwise would not know each other. Personally I am willing to talk to anybody in the wide world—always provided, of course, that he won't pick my pockets." The plan which Mr. Stead has in mind is a very simple one, and it would be very diverting to see it tried in London. He proposes to establish what he calls a "flag section" of a club of which he is president. Every member of this section is to wear in his buttonhole two small flags, one English and the other foreign, and these flags, reversing the significance of the blue ribbon, indicate that the wearer is willing to talk to anybody who wishes to converse with him. If the wearer of the flags at any particular time is too busy for conversation, or does not feel like talking, he has only to turn the flags down, and he retires immediately into the universal silence which envelops the average Englishman. The New York Sun, which reports this interesting scheme, compares the turning down of the flags to the reversal of the sign of the taxicab when it is engaged. The trouble with Mr. Stead's plan is that it does not remove the suspicion at the bottom of the Englishman's heart that most men are undesirable acquaintances. That is perhaps the root of the whole matter. It might be suggested, as a beneficent modification of the plan, that when a man begins to be bored he shall have the right, without personal offense, to turn his flags down. If this modification is accepted, the plan may be adopted in New York as well as in London. It might even be adopted in Boston. Dr. Mulford made a dextrous use of his deafness to protect himself from the conversationalists who talked too long. When he got tired he took down his trumpet, and then he was as inaccessible to sound as Gibraltar is to a cannonade.

A MODERN MORALITY PLAY

Not exactly in the old meaning is Mr. Jerome K. Jerome's play a "morality," yet "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" has in the Passer-By a personified truth enforcing a moral lesson. The intensity with which large audiences watch this play as it is now presented in New York shows that it is an utter mistake to imagine that theater audiences care for nothing but sensation, doubtful sex-problems, or farce. Here is presented a tawdry, sordid London boarding-house—a grasping landlady, an untidy servant, a sly and vain old maid, a snobbish woman sycophant, with men who are described in the cast as snob, bully, satyr, coward, and cad. To this house filled with mean people who hate, despise, or cheat one another comes the Passer-By as occupant of the third-floor back room. Admirably played by one of the most skilled of English actors, Mr. Forbes-Robertson, the symbolism of the part soon discloses itself as the embodiment of the better self. With kindness and graciousness the newcomer recalls to the young painter his own early art ideal, to the young girl about to sell herself in marriage the unselfishness of true love, to the landlady the higher standards of her better days, to the slovenly slavey an aspiration for self-respect. And so in each of many cases the appeal is to dim memories long hidden away within the heart, and in the end we leave a friendly, helpful, good-natured group of people, trying to be fair and generous, where once all was spitefulness, backbiting, and viciousness. The idea is essentially beautiful, and its application to everyday conditions is clever. In point of dramatic construction, as compared, for instance, with "The Servant in the House," Mr. Jerome's play is rather clumsily managed, particularly in the last act, where the remodeled characters come forward one after another to exhibit the effects of the treatment, so to speak. There is some effective character depiction in the minor parts, and much that is amusing in by-play and dialogue. It is really noteworthy that Mr. Jerome, who is chiefly known as a writer of avowedly comic sketches such as those of "Three Men in a Boat," has here subordinated farcical incident to serious purpose. The play makes a simple, unaffected appeal to the better side of human nature, and that such a theme is warmly received by theater audiences is a hopeful indication of one trend of present-day dramatic writing.

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THE SLAVE TRAFFIC IN AMERICA

A startling article on "The Daughters of the Poor" in the current number of McClure's Magazine brings home to public consciousness the fact that in America there is an extensive traffic in white slaves—girls from eleven years of age up—who are bought, sold, and used as instruments for the gratification of men's lust. In all ages and in all communities young women have been found voluntarily entering into a life of vice, hypnotized by sexual passion, enticed by delusive hopes of grandeur, or forced by the stress of poverty. These voluntary prostitutes we do not call white slaves. We call those white slaves who are forced or decoyed into the life of shame against their will.

A young Italian or Jewess in Europe has heard wonderful stories of America as a land of liberty and plenty. A young man of her own race makes her acquaintance; gains her confidence; promises her, if she will emigrate, little to do and plenty to get; if necessary, wins her love and promises her marriage; in some instances has been known actually to marry her; brings her to America with him; perhaps induces two or three of her friends to accompany them; passes through Ellis Island, where nothing is developed to arouse suspicion; takes her to a house of ill fame; and there she finds herself a prisoner. Perhaps the first night of her residence she is the victim of assault, and enters on the life prepared for her in very despair; perhaps she is induced to take up the life by illusive promises and specious arguments; perhaps her ineffective resistance is overcome by starvation and blows. It is reported by well-informed officials that not less than three thousand girls are thus decoyed every year to swell the army of prostitutes in New York City. As the average life of a prostitute does not exceed five years, such recruiting does not necessarily increase the number.

This is one form of the traffic. The variants in the form are innumerable. Recruits are brought in by similar processes from smaller towns and cities or from rural regions in America. Sometimes an innocent girl traveling to New York falls into conversation with a benevolent-looking stranger, who warns her against the dangers of a great city; offers to be her guardian and to conduct her to a reputable and economical boarding-house; and, too late, she finds herself imprisoned in a house of ill fame. Perhaps seeking employment, she goes to one of the numerous employment agencies which are used by the slave traffickers, and, accepting employment, finds her mistress the manager of a house of vice. Sometimes, comparatively alone and unfriended, she makes the acquaintance of a seductive youth in one of the numerous dance-halls or cheap dancing academies of the city, and is enticed by him to the house of a friend, from whose custody she cannot escape. The methods are various; the result is always the same.

For, once caught, she finds escape almost impossible. Her clothes are taken from her and she cannot go out. Or her first experience destroys all hope of an honest life, and she yields to the persuasions of plausible associates. Or she is beaten into acquiescence. If she gets out of her prison, she does not know to whom to appeal. The policeman naturally regards the appeal of a woman on the street with suspicion, and his reluctance to interfere is increased by the knowledge that in many cases local politicians of influence, on whom his official life depends, connive at this traffic, if they do not actually share its profits. The fact that she has spent even a single night in a house of ill fame debars her from honest and honorable employment. Doubtless there are philanthropic men and women who would aid her, but she does not know where they are. If she is under sixteen years of age, she can appeal to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, but she does not know of its existence. Society is not organized to protect her, and there is a very efficient and capable organization to hold her in slavery. For the business of the traffickers in white slaves is thoroughly organized, with affiliated bodies in many of the principal cities. If a girl escapes, notice is sent to these bodies to recapture her, if possible. If she is recaptured, she pays a penalty for her temerity sufficient to prevent not only her

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but her companions from repeating the attempt. In one authoritatively reported case a girl who fled from Chicago to New York was later found strangled in a boarding-house in the latter city. This traffic is not confined to New York City. It is carried on, though not on so large a scale, in every important city in the country, from San Francisco to New York, and from Boston to New Orleans.

Think of it. A young girl, innocent and ignorant, full of the joyousness of youth, its hopes, its trustfulness, its purity, confides herself to the care of a professed protector, leaves her home, follows him unquestioningly, to find herself betrayed, her purity despoiled, her hopes converted into despair, herself consigned to a life of enforced shame and prolonged suicide. Compared with these purveyors of vice and traffickers in womanhood, Mormon polygamy is a domestic virtue. Compared with these devourers of maidens, the fabled dragons of ancient story were merciful beasts. There are some people who cannot bring themselves to believe in a personal devil. There are certainly some personal devils in America, whether or no there are any disembodied ones.

Those who deny these facts are either afflicted with an extraordinary ignorance or endowed with an extraordinary impudence. Our knowledge of them does not depend on magazine or newspaper writers. The facts have been proved in court trials in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. There have been over a score of convictions of these slave traffickers since 1907 in the United States Circuit Court of New York City alone. They will be found officially reported in the forthcoming report on this subject by the Congressional Immigration Commission. They are the basis of a treaty made in 1905 between the United States and European Governments for the suppression of the international traffic. They led to the recent enactment of a Federal statute extending over imported white slaves the protection of the United States courts, a statute unhappily robbed of half its power by the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court that it is unconstitutional in the degree and extent of the protection afforded. In the face of these facts, to deny that the traffic in enslaved girls exists is to presume on the ignorance of the public. To affirm that the report of these facts defames the tenement-house dwellers is to presume on the mental incompetence of the public. They are reported that the informed and inflamed public may come to the rescue of the dwellers in the tenement-houses.

The cause of this wholesale crime is greed, lust, and cruelty in a few, indifference in more, ignorance in many. The remedy is informing the public of the facts and lighting the flame of a public indignation that shall drive these traffickers out of their nefarious business.

FIVE EMINENT AMERICANS

It is a relief and also a corrective to turn from the appalling story of the systematic traffic in girls, and the equally appalling story of vile politics which Judge Lindsey dramatically tells in the current number of Everybody's Magazine, and the other stories of vice, fraud, and crime which crowd the newspapers this autumn, to the careers of five Americans who have died within the last ten days. One feels that in these careers he is in touch with the real American; the deep undercurrent, on the surface of which the filth and froth are so offensively evident. The daily newspaper is forced by its emphasis on the events of the day to obliterate the perspective in which those events can be estimated and understood. Against the lives of these five Americans the stories of the partnerships of politics and vice do not lose their repulsiveness; but they no longer fill the horizon of National life.

Henry C. Lea was one of the most distinguished American historical scholars. He gave fifty years of tireless historical research to the production of fourteen volumes on "Sacerdotal Celibacy," "Auricular Confession and Indulgence," "The Inquisition in the Middle Ages," "The Inquisition of Spain," "The Inquisition in Spanish Dependencies," with several volumes on lesser phases of his main theme. These are not subjects for the general reader; but celibacy, confession, and indulgence lie at the foundation and formation of Christianity in Western Europe, and,

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later, the Inquisition decided the development of Latin Europe and of the Roman Catholic Church. Unless these subjects are understood, it is not possible to understand Spain to-day. Cuba, the Philippines, and the early arrest of Spanish America become luminous in the light of Dr. Lea's research. The ordinary sources of published documents were only secondary for him. On his subjects they covered but half the field. He wisely determined to study and describe, not events, but the institutions which create events. He studied institutions by studying their judicial and legal processes in thousands of cases. He gathered an unrivaled library covering the whole range of patristic and ecclesiastical literature. He bought original papers wherever offered, and possessed tomes of original Inquisition records. He employed students to brief and copy in every great library in Europe, from Stockholm to Madrid. Where most men gather notes he gathered volumes. None ever justly impugned his good faith, his impartiality, his industry, or his inflexible determination to secure the exact truth. He was forty-two when, after ten years of study, he wrote his first study of mediæval institutions, "Superstition and Force," in which he dealt with ordeal, wager of battle, and torture. For forty-two years after, he labored with unsparing system and precision.

Dr. Lea came of a family of learning and of letters. His maternal grandfather, Matthew Carey, was a century ago a great publisher. His father, Isaac Lea, was one of the foremost of early American naturalists. When the Civil War came, Dr. Lea was not, like some historians, careless of his own day. He led in the movement which made Philadelphia a Union city. He associated himself later with Civil Service Reform. He almost began the demand for reform in municipal government. He was to the end of his life always attacking the corrupt machine which rules Pennsylvania, and its corrupt leaders. Honored at home, his chief recognition came abroad, where his subjects bore more directly on vital and local needs and memories. His works have been translated into French, German, and Italian. His was a fruitful life well lived in the single purpose of so writing history that men would learn, as from a laboratory experiment, how perilous is fanaticism and how poisonous secret power.

Bishop Hare, who died at Atlantic City on October 23, in the seventy-second year of his age, was a man whose leadership was inspired by a deeply religious spirit and by constant meditation on the things of God, but he was also sagacious and practical in applying the forces of religious conviction to the needs of to-day. Born at Princeton, New Jersey, educated in Philadelphia at the Episcopal Academy, the University, and the Divinity School, his first charge was in the latter city. In 1870 he entered the missionary service of the Episcopal Church as Secretary and General Agent of its Board. Three years later he was chosen as Missionary Bishop of South Dakota, where his parishioners were largely uncivilized Indians, and it is by his work as apostle to the Indians that Bishop Hare will be remembered. He began at the foundation, planned his work along lines of steady development, established schools for Indian children, multiplied the number of missions, inspired young men with a desire for service, placed them at strategical points, worked in season and out of season to master the field in detail and to deal with it with the utmost effectiveness. Ten thousand Indians have become Christians as the result of his teaching, and have been generous builders of churches, on which, The Churchman reports, not a dollar of indebtedness rests. Twenty years ago, in what was felt to be a crisis in the relations of the Episcopal Church to missions in the Far East, Bishop Hare was recognized as pre-eminently the man to study the situation on the ground, and his report to the General Convention of the Church had far-reaching consequences in the history of missionary work. Bishop Hare had a most attractive personality. He was decisive but gentle, kindly, and winning. He knew how to draw upon the rich stores of experience with oratorical effectiveness and charm. He was especially happy in describing Indian character and life, and he never failed to interest his congregations in these subjects. Among the bishops of his generation no one was more influential or more deeply loved.

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Rufus Wheeler Peckham, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, who died at his home near Albany, New York, was the son of a distinguished Judge of the Court of Appeals of that State. He was born in Albany, had an academic education, spent a year abroad, studied law in his father's office, and gained a National reputation as a lawyer through his defeat of Senator Edmunds in the bank tax cases which came before the United States Supreme Court in 1881. During the following years he was counsel in a number of well-known cases, criminal as well as civil. He was an ardent supporter of Mr. Tilden; and, from 1874 until he took his place on the United States Supreme Court Bench, was prominent in Democratic State and National Conventions. He had a warm regard for Mr. Cleveland, who had great confidence in his capability as a jurist, and who appointed him to the Supreme Court Bench in 1895. He had been previously serving as Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New York. He was a man of great learning in his profession, of stainless character, of an intrepid spirit and a vigorous and decisive mind; and his decisions in several cases were matters of National importance. As a lawyer and a jurist Judge Peckham's abilities were of a high, though not of the highest, order. He belonged to the older school of jurists; and his strength lay in learning, lucidity, and intrepidity rather than in breadth of view and sympathy with the widening conception of law which in our generation, as in Shakespeare's time, is bringing both the theory and the practice of law into more vital relations with human conditions.

The two soldiers in this group of five Americans were even more distinguished for their services in times of peace than in time of war. Colonel Theodore A. Dodge was almost as well known as a writer on military affairs as is Admiral Mahan on naval affairs. Born in the beautful old town of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, of a New England family of distinction, Colonel Dodge received his military education in Berlin, and later was graduated at the London University. Entering a regiment of the New York Volunteers in 1862, he was in continuous service with the Army of the Potomac under Generals Kearny and Howard, passed through all the lower ranks to a colonelcy, was wounded on several occasions, and lost a leg at the Battle of Gettysburg. At the close of the war he became a commissioned officer in the regular army, but retired from active service in 1870. He belonged to a small group of soldiers who are also scholars. He made an exhaustive study of military science, and was an authority in several fields of military knowledge, his series of military histories—including the biographies of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, and Gustavus Adolphus—being both authoritative and interesting. They represented great thoroughness of method, for Colonel Dodge never spared himself in securing first-hand knowledge of all matters about which he wrote. He visited the battlefields and made exhaustive studies of the topography of the campaigns which he described. Much of his time was consumed in these pursuits abroad. But his separation from home interests and occupations made him, if possible, a more ardent American. He was a man of high character, and achieved an honorable place among military historians.

Few Americans were better known than Major-General Oliver Otis Howard. He was a native of Maine; graduated at Bowdoin College, and at the Academy at West Point in 1854; was an instructor in mathematics until the opening of the war, when he took command of a Maine regiment. He was in charge of a brigade in the first battle of Bull Run and was made Brigadier-General for gallantry, was twice wounded at Fair Oaks, lost his right arm, was present at Antietam, became Major-General of Volunteers, commanded a corps at Fredericksburg, fought at Gettysburg and Missionary Ridge, held a position of great importance at Chancellorsville, and was greatly criticised for what, among military experts, was held to be a grave mistake of military judgment. This criticism, directed solely at General Howard's judgment, is not upheld by some writers of high authority. He commanded the right wing of General Sherman's army on its march to the sea. His record of active military service was long and was conspicuous for gallantry. Later he saw active service in campaigns against the

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Indians, was appointed Superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point, became a prolific writer and an ardent worker in several fields of Christian endeavor—for General Howard was a devoted Christian man throughout his entire career. Like Stonewall Jackson, he had an implicit reliance on the Providential guidance of events. His theology was conservative, but he held his faith in a human and sympathetic spirit. His services during the Civil War were many and important. Hardly less important was his service at the head of the Freedmen's Bureau. In this position he became the unselfish and untiring servant of a people just emerged from slavery. Here again it may be that his judgment was at fault, for he conducted the Bureau under the supervision of President Johnson, who had no real sympathy with the work, and he was compelled to use subordinates for whose appointments he had no responsibility, but for whose conduct he was held to a sharp responsibility. No man was more bitterly criticised. If he had been prudent, he would have resigned his position rather than have retained it under conditions so unjust. He showed his unselfishness by hazarding his reputation rather than leaving the freedmen to fall into the hands of men without sympathy for these wards of the Nation.

THE LAKE MOHONK PLATFORM

The Lake Mohonk Conference has had an influence on National affairs out of all proportion to the number engaged in it. While the country was still committed to the policy of keeping the Indians shut up in reservations until they had been prepared for freedom, it called for the abandonment of the reservation system and the division of the lands among the Indians in severalty. While the Nation was still leaving the education of the Indians to the voluntary efforts of missionary and philanthropic societies, the Conference called for the establishment by the Federal Government of a system of public schools for the Indians under Federal control. While the offices in the Indian service were still regarded as political, and the agents and inspectors were changed with every changing Administration, the Conference declared that they should be brought under the civil service, in order that a continuous and consistent policy might be made possible. Congress successively adopted these three fundamental reforms, not in compliance with any demand of the Conference, but in obedience to the public opinion which the Conference had both interpreted and helped to create. Similarly, the Arbitration Conference at Lake Mohonk called for a permanent tribunal to settle international difficulties—a Supreme Court of the civilized nations corresponding to the Supreme Court of the United States—two years before the first Hague Conference was assembled. The character of the men invited by Mr. Smiley from all sections of the country, their comparative freedom from political and ecclesiastical prejudices and prepossession, the absence of doctrinaires on the one hand and of self-seekers on the other, the perfect freedom of debate, and the substantial unanimity of the conclusions finally embodied in the annual platforms, have made these gatherings truly representative of the best sentiment in the Nation. When, therefore, this Conference declares itself upon our colonial problems, its declaration receives instant public attention, and will obtain, as it deserves, very serious public consideration.

There are certain much-discussed colonial questions on which the Conference is silent. They are historical, not practical; they concern the past, not the present nor the future. Was the Spanish War just or unjust? Ought we to have taken over Porto Rico and the Philippines? These are now purely academic questions. There are few people who think we ever ought to have imported negro slaves into the United States, or that in getting possession of the Indian Territory the National policy has been free from cruel injustice. But these opinions do not affect our present duty toward the Indians and the Africans under our authority. Some strict constitutionalists think the purchase of Louisiana was unconstitutional, and most modern moralists think the Mexican War was unjustifiable; but these opinions do not affect our duty toward the territories

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acquired by the Louisiana Purchase and the Mexican War. Whether the Spanish War was just or unjust, whether the acquisition of Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines was justifiable or unjustifiable, are questions very appropriate for a boys' debating society in a high school; but they are not appropriate for mature men interested in present-day problems, because they are not present-day problems. The inhabitants of Porto Rico, of Hawaii, and of the Philippines are now, in fact, as much within the jurisdiction of the United States as the North American Indians. The only present-day problem is, What is the Nation's duty toward them? And to that question the Lake Mohonk Conference answers, Govern them now in such fashion as shall prepare them for eventual self-government. This platform was adopted by a Conference in which these foreign races were represented not only by Anglo-Saxon officials familiar with the conditions, but by at least one native representative each of the Porto Ricans, the Filipinos, and the North American Indians. And it was adopted by the unanimous vote of a representative committee, and with only one dissenting voice in the Conference. So far as it bears on our colonial problems it is as follows:

The duty of the American people to establish by the force of its laws and the influence of its example liberty and justice is the same toward all its non-citizen subjects, whether those subjects be the young men not yet grown to full citizenship, or the aborigines under our sovereignty, or the newly landed immigrants unfamiliar with the nature and operation of free institutions, or the negroes recently emerged from slavery, or the inhabitants of our insular possessions with no historic preparation for democracy—that is, the reign of the people. The ultimate end of all just government is self-government. Keeping this end ever in view, it is the duty of the Nation to give to all under its authority adequate protection of person and of property whether personal or communal, government by law not by the will of a personal ruler, military or civil, courts of law accessible to the poorest and the humblest, processes of law prompt, economical, and equal in their operation, taxes no heavier than the expenses of their government economically administered require, sanitary provisions for the prevention of preventable disease and the establishment of hygienic conditions, schools which shall furnish industrial and moral as well as academic instruction, and, through the voluntary efforts of the churches, the inspiration of a religion founded not on the fear but on the love of God.

This means for the North American Indian the abolition of the tribal relation in which the fundamental rights of the individual are denied, the substitution of personal for tribal property, the recognition of the Indian's right to travel freely and peaceably and to buy and sell in the open market, and his ultimate admission to American citizenship. It means for the Filipino opening to him the American market as it has been opened to the Hawaiian and the Porto Rican. It means that the relationship between the United States and her insular possessions should be clearly defined at the earliest practicable date. It means for the inhabitants of the insular possessions the maintenance of local self-government as a preparation for future insular self-government and the complete development of an Anglo-Saxon system of courts and procedure. And it means for all—North American Indians, native races of Alaska, Porto Ricans, Hawaiians, and Filipinos—the vigorous prosecution and condign punishment of all men engaged in lawless endeavors to deprive the people of their public or private property, the establishment by law of efficient police regulations to safeguard the people against the vices of civilization, adequate sanitary measures for the protection of the people's health, adequate systems of education for their mental and moral development, and the improvement of their industries by providing industrial training, developing their resources, and promoting easy access to profitable markets. Finally, it means securing well-paid agents of unquestionable integrity and proved capacity to represent the Nation in its work for the betterment of these peoples. It does not necessarily mean either eventual Statehood or eventual independence for our island possessions. It may mean self-government under American protection and subject to American sovereignty. But whatever relationship may be established between America and her insular possessions in the future, just government must mean, for all peoples under her protection and subject to her sovereignty, government for the benefit of the governed now, that is, justice, and eventual self-government, which is the consummation of liberty.

With all that this platform affirms The Outlook is in hearty accord. But it is prepared to say more than the Lake Mohonk Conference was prepared to say—at least with unanimity. We do not believe that our island possessions should ever become States in the Union. We do not believe that when they are prepared for independence they will desire independence, and we do not believe that independence should be forced upon them. We believe

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that our present government should be shaped to bring about eventually "self government under American protection and subject to American sovereignty." We believe that this is what a majority of the more thoughtful citizens both of Porto Rico and of the Philippines desire. And we believe that the time has fully come when the American people should take this question up, reach a conclusion upon it, and let its insular subjects know what that conclusion is, that they may intelligently co-operate with us toward the desired result.

IS THE GOLDEN RULE PRACTICABLE?

In a speech at Detroit eleven years ago, Mr. Samuel M. Jones, then Mayor of Toledo, Ohio, declared, "I am pleading for a social order of fair play, a social order of doing as you would be done by." It was in accordance with this declaration that he undertook to administer the Mayor's office. He was twice re-elected Mayor; and his brave idealism served as a stimulus to good government all over the country. In consequence he was dubbed "Golden Rule Jones," and "Golden Rule Jones" he remained to the day of his death.

This explicit and avowed attempt to apply the Golden Rule to the tasks of municipal government, including the stern duties of the police, was ridiculed as visionary and futile. Politics, it was said, especially municipal politics, furnished no suitable field for the application of such a principle. Nevertheless the attempt was continued, not only under Mayor Jones, but under Mayor Whitlock, his successor. Still further, it extended beyond Toledo. On another page of this issue of The Outlook Mr. William J. Norton, a resident of Cleveland, tells of the way in which Chief Kohler has undertaken to apply that rule to the administration of the Cleveland police.

Of course Toledo and Cleveland are not the only cities in which municipal officials have tried to govern their conduct by the Golden Rule; for wherever men are trying to act in accordance with the principles of justice, they are following that rule consciously or unconsciously; but Toledo and Cleveland have some claim to distinction through the fact that municipal officials in both cities have deliberately set that rule up as a standard by which they wish their actions to be judged.

Is that rule a practical one for an officer charged with the control and punishment of the lawless? It might be very easy to conclude from the facts stated by Mr. Norton that it is not. Before the reader reaches the conclusion, however, that the application of the Golden Rule means the triumph of sentimentalism and the defeat of law and order, let him remind himself of what the Golden Rule is. Perhaps he may discover that the fault, if fault there be, is to be laid not to the Golden Rule but to the failure of the administrative officer to understand and apply it.

What, then, so far as the public officer is concerned, is involved in the saying, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise"?

In answering this question two things must be borne in mind: In the first place, when he deals with an offender, the public officer is acting not for himself but for society, and what he does affects not only the offender but society also. He is doing something to society as well as to the offender. If, therefore, he is to be governed in his whole conduct by the Golden Rule, he must observe that rule not only in his conduct toward the offender, but also in his conduct toward society. It is not enough that the public official should paraphrase the Golden Rule so that it reads, As ye would that the criminal should do to you, do ye even also to the criminal likewise. He must see that it reads as well, As ye would that society should do to you, do ye also to society likewise. If the official desires society to protect him, he in turn, as he performs his duty, is under obligation to protect society. In the second place, the public official who undertakes to apply the Golden Rule to the performance of his duties is not fit to apply that rule on behalf of society unless his standards of what is desirable are much higher than the standards of the offenders with whom he deals. When the common "drunk" is arrested, all he wishes that men would do to him is to let him go. That, how-

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ever, does not mean that the public official should wish the same thing for him. The Golden Rule is not, Do unto others what they want you to do to them, but, Do unto others what you would have them do to you. It would be perfectly fair, therefore, to say to the head of a police department: "Perhaps all that you would wish that others should do to you, if you were a vagrant, would be to save you from disagreeable consequences. If so, you are not worthy to be a Golden Rule Police Chief. Probably, however, what you would really wish others to do to you would be to give you a chance to escape from being a vagrant. If that is so, then that is what you ought to do for the vagrant."

The application of this is clear. Any disciplinary official who undertakes to follow the Golden Rule must have as his aim, first, the protection of society, and, second, the reform of the offender. If the official fails to attain this twofold end, it is not because he has applied the Golden Rule, but because he has failed to apply it.

THE SPECTATOR

The peculiar thing about hermits is that they are always in the public eye. Not that it is their fault. From the earliest times they have always been going out into wildernesses and dens and caves of the earth, and the world has immediately and inevitably worn a pathway to their doors. A hermit is a living appeal to human curiosity, and never appeals in vain. Wherever one establishes himself migration always sets in; and a really good hermit may be said to be as substantial an attraction to a neighborhood as a historical landmark or a fine bit of scenery.

The Spectator, being lineally descended from Eve, has his share of curiosity, and so promptly went to call upon a hermit near whose retreat he found himself the other day. There was no pathless solitude about this particular hermitage. The Spectator took a trolley along the rocky New England shore and got off on the outskirts of a thriving seaport, where two roads meet, one from the hills and the other from the harbor. The hill road was the hermit's way, and climbed leisurely over rock and through fern, with enchanting views over the blue sea at every turn. Then it dipped deeper and deeper into birch and beech wood, and the air took a spicy woodland tang as the road turned to a track and the track to a foot-path. And suddenly, in a little glade, lo, there was the hermitage, embowered in hop-vine and sweet-peas, with rustic benches under the overarching trees, and a bright-eyed chipmunk, entirely unafraid, whisking about the doorstep. A modern hermitage it was—no hut of twigs or cavern in the rock, but built of logs, with well-shingled roof and orthodox stove-pipe. From within came a cheerful voice. "Good-morning. Won't you step in?" And from the depths of a very comfortable Morris chair the hermit rose and came forward to do the honors.

The Morris chair, however, was the only article of luxury in the hermitage, and as it was the only chair, it did well to be comfortable. A couple of benches, a cooking-stove, and some book-shelves were the only other furniture in this main room, which would have seemed hardly large enough to turn round in if another had not opened off it—evidently the hermit's sleeping-chamber—which was not much bigger than a bird-box. Yet the impression was one of comfort, of life reduced to the primal simplicities but holding the solid essentials. "Yes, I built it myself, and just the way I wanted it," said the gray-haired hermit, smiling. "I built my first log cabin not half this size, and lived in it six years. Then I wanted more room and things a little different. Been here nearly twenty years. Lonely? Well, no, not exactly. Nigh to two thousand visitors this season, so far."

"Want to see the birds? 'Most everybody does." He took down a box, gathered some hemp seed in his hand, and flung it on the door-stone. Down came a towhee bunting, somewhat the worse for molting, but still brave in red and brown, and hopped to the very threshold. The chipmunk wanted his share too. "This time of day the birds aren't so plentiful," explained the hermit. But they

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came, and were as fearless as chickens at feeding time. Slung on a wire between two trees was a can with a big lump of suet in it for them, a delicacy which birds greatly appreciate, it seems. Another receptacle held what looked like insect marmalade. "That's sweetened water, put there to sour, and to catch the brown-tail moth," the hermit said. "They just flock to it, and it kills them. There's a disease following them now, killing them all off, anyway. I collected dozens of nests this year, and only five hatched out, and they were sickly. No, I don't think it's the parasites the Government brought over; it's just a disease. But the gypsy-moth parasite is all right and at work. These woods were a sight with gypsy-moth two or three years ago, but I believe the Government parasite and the spraying will finish them up."

Some hermits have retired from the world because of its wickedness; others because they have been crossed in love. This wildwood solitary had a modern reason, neither religious nor romantic. A hard-worked bookkeeper, broken in health, a martyr to dyspepsia, and with a cough which the doctors declared could be cured only by living among the pines, he came to the neighboring seaport to try if he could get a berth on a fishing-vessel. But no skipper would take him, and he went into the woods to die, as he supposed. Instead of that, however, after he had pitched a tent and dwelt among the trees for a few months he was able to build himself a log cabin out of logs cut by his own labor; and since then he has never known ill health, but is as hale and hearty an old inhabitant as one could wish to see. The Spectator felt a curiosity as to how a man coming from a city could thus take up the life of the woods. But his first question on the subject revealed the fact that the hermit was no tenderfoot, but had spent his boyhood on a Maine farm, and known the life of the lumber camps and the trails of the trappers from his earliest years. His mild eye lit up as he described a juvenile battle with a bear which got into the log pig-pen in those far-off days, and a raid which the wolves made on his father's sheep, killing fifteen in one night. Woodcraft was second nature to him, not a new experiment, when he came to set up a hermitage.

As has been said, however, the profession of a hermit has its social side. For this the Spectator's hermit was surprisingly well fitted—or was it simply practice that made perfect? A man who receives five thousand visitors a year necessarily learns to do it well. "The town folks come out all through the winter, mostly on Sundays. The last Sunday before the beaches opened, this spring, there were one hundred and nine people here. Of course they can't all get inside, only just a few at a time. When the beaches open and the summer visitors begin to come, sometimes I'm that tired at night I can hardly sleep. The birds and the squirrels don't mind the people much if they sit down and keep quiet. Some of the visitors take photographs. Here's one of my red squirrel that used to walk along a rope, upside down, after nuts." It was truly a surprising snapshot of a furry-tailed acrobat, like a fly on a ceiling, going hand over hand pendent along a rope to a feeding-box full of nuts. "And one of the birds used to ring a bell when he wanted bird seed. Some folks say animals haven't intelligence the way men have. Now that—" And then the hermit launched out in an entertaining talk on instinct.

Not for nothing had the hermitage its book-shelves. "Brain and Personality" and "Wild Birds of North America" elbowed the encyclopædia and Thoreau. A true New England character was this woodlander, and worth listening to. The Spectator came away down the sylvan path, not wondering at the stout register of visitors in which he was courteously asked to inscribe his name. Also he has remembered ever since with an inward joy the thick red book on the second shelf close by the Morris chair. Who would have expected to find "Who's Who in America" in a hermitage? Yet there it is; and for his part the Spectator much prefers it to the scourge and the skull of the time-honored St. Simeon Stylites variety of anchorite. Imagine St. Simeon with a chipmunk—or rather, imagine a chipmunk confronted with St. Simeon!

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Chief Kohler of Cleveland and His Golden Rule Policy[1]

BY WILLIAM J. NORTON

ABOUT the beginning of 1908 Fred Kohler, Chief of the Cleveland Police Force, promulgated a new theory for police action, popularly called "the Golden Rule Policy." In substance this Biblical policy applied by a patrolman to an offender is simply to refrain from taking the offender into custody unless absolutely necessary. The public is informed that the officer is to be guided in the exercise of this discretion by three rules: "First, juveniles are never to be placed in city prisons. They are to be taken home, or the parents sent for and the child turned over to them with a warning for parental protection. Second, intoxicated persons are to be taken or sent home, unless it seems necessary for the protection of their lives or their property to confine them until sober; and in that case they are to be allowed to plead guilty, and by signing a waiver of trial let go without appearing in court. Third, juveniles and intoxicated persons are cited only because they appear to be in the majority; but apparent offenders on any misdemeanor charges are waived and released by simply taking their names and addresses, unless it can be shown that the offense was committed with malice aforethought, with the intention to injure the person or property of another."

Mr. Kohler states frankly that the policy has been applied in cases where it seemed apparent that a felony had been committed. The word apparent is important, as the Chief often uses a qualifying word or phrase which he intends as a literal qualification. His men are to consider the evidence in each case. If assured that the offense is only apparent, and that no conviction can be secured in court, they are to release the suspect; if the evidence guarantees a conviction, they are to hold him and charge him with the crime.

The section relating to juveniles may be largely ignored, because in latter years Cleveland has dealt with the child delinquents not very differently from Mr. Kohler's new dictum for dealing with them. Very few actual imprisonments of accused children have been necessary. It has been found feasible to permit them to remain at home until the day of their trial by the Juvenile Court. And there is a detention house for those who must be incarcerated pending trial. The only effects upon the juvenile problem are that the number of offenders brought before the Children's Court by police officers, which never was large, has decreased; and an excellent reformatory agent, the Juvenile Probation Office, is curtailed in its kind and sympathetic efforts to straighten the moral snarls of childhood. Hence it befalls that the radical changes brought about by the Golden Rule Policy are a more lenient treatment of intoxicated men, vagrants, and those suspected of minor offenses commonly known as misdemeanors, and less haste in arresting those suspected of felonies.

Setting forth his reasons for the inauguration of the policy, Mr. Kohler contends that wholesale arrests for minor offenses do more harm than good.

"They brought disgrace," he says, "humiliation, and suffering to countless innocent persons in no way responsible for the acts of a thoughtless, careless, mischievous, or even, if you will, a malicious first offender.

"I found daily at the stations relatives and friends in tears, seeking the release of some prisoner who, when I inquired, proved to be not so very bad. In the police court the next day I saw old and feeble parents, weeping wives with crying babies in their arms and very often other children clinging at their sides—all there to witness the degradation of those they loved. A hasty trial, and, since the offense

[1] An editorial on this subject appears in this issue of The Outlook.—THE EDITORS.

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was usually trivial, the prisoner was discharged. Good! But all that suffering was in vain. Sometimes it was worse than vain. And again sometimes the offender was fined. That was a 'result;' but who paid? The weeping mother and children; they were robbed of the necessities of life, and the only gain was a few paltry dollars paid into the city treasury.

"The 'very best result' achieved in all this process was that the offender, who may previously have been of good character and reputation, was given a police court record. He was discouraged and his family and relatives mortified and disgraced.

"Then I remembered that all persons are not arrested who commit minor offenses and even larceny. Many escape detection and are not exposed. Their escape did not hurt them, or society; it was an advantage.

"Upon these observations and thoughts my policy was formed. Firm in the belief that some remedy was necessary, I decided to experiment. I determined to have my policemen use their best human instincts. I proposed that my men should exercise that discretion which the judges did not always exercise."

The most immediate and obvious result of the enactment of the new policy has been a great reduction in the number of arrests. In 1907, a year typical of the past, there were 30,418 arrests; in 1908, after a full year of Golden Rule, there were 10,085. These figures show that arrests decreased by 67 per cent in one year. But that is not all; so insistent has been Mr. Kohler upon the strict application of his policy by the men of his force that, month by month, they have shaved down the number of arrests until the decrease for January, February, and March, 1909, over the corresponding months for 1907 has risen to 71 per cent.

After a year and a half, during which the policy has been prosecuted with unflagging zeal, Mr. Kohler states that crime has decreased throughout the city, and that criminals dare not come there. In order to understand the truth in these statements, if there is any truth in them, one must understand another policy of the Cleveland Police Chief, called "police repression."

Should a man known to be an undesirable citizen open a saloon or gambling den, which would be, in the opinion of the Chief, a disorderly place, open to all classes of criminally and immorally inclined men and women, Mr. Kohler would assign to the man and his business as an attendant a blue-coated, club-swinging patrolman. The officer is further armed with a pad and pencil, and it is his duty to keep ever in front of the saloon and take the names and addresses of all who enter. Invariably there has been but one result—the termination of the business and the discouragement of the man who began it from starting any similar place. The plan has developed further: houses of ill fame have been treated in the same manner, and certain suspicious characters with bad records have been known to awake to the realization that a persistent patrolman was in attendance upon them, who made life so dreary that they were glad to take up residence elsewhere.

So effective has been the policy of "police repression" that of the multitude of disorderly houses which Mr. Kohler inherited when he became Police Chief in 1903, only one-third remain in business, and these, so far as regards any outward sign upon them, could never be detected by the unsuspecting. Gambling-houses exist no longer in Cleveland, and the grade of saloons has grown gradually better during the Chief's régime.

So much honor to a man to whom honor is due. Mr. Kohler is unqualifiedly one of the ablest Chiefs of Police in America. He has deep and far-reaching sight; he has executive ability of a rare order; his men fear him as much as ancient men feared God; and he is honest. But the possession of these qualities does not mean the possession of wisdom, or that personal animosity will not pervert their use from the best ways at times. There is another side to the argument, of course, and we shall do well to study some figures and hear from other police authorities.

One cause alone, intoxication, produced most of the charges upon which arrests have been made in city cases during past years. In 1907 16,987 of the total 30,418 arrests were made upon the intoxication

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charge. These are important figures, inasmuch as Mr. Kohler bases a great many arguments for the Golden Rule upon them. They mean simply this, that of every 100 persons formerly arrested for intoxication, 80 are allowed to go free now and 20 are arrested. Under the old régime a drunken man was locked up in a police station and allowed to cool off. Next morning he was brought to trial, his previous record studied, and he was discharged after a severe rating by the judge, perhaps given a suspended sentence, or, if an old and troublesome offender, sentenced to the payment of a fine and committed to the workhouse. Under the new plan the offender is chided by a patrolman, kindly sent home by him or locked up to cool off and perhaps appear before the Chief at a session of the Sunrise Court, when he is discharged without official registration.

Where is the gain or loss in this change of treatment? Even under the old plan, a man had to show some other cause than mere intoxication before he was arrested. Any one could stagger along the street with impunity if he minded his own business. It was only when he became dead drunk, was boisterous, refused to move when ordered, insulted an officer, or did some other foolish thing, that he was arrested. The same is true under the new plan, and the actual number of offenders taken into custody is not so small as the records indicate. The difference comes after the officers take charge, and it is largely this: the Chief of Police and his assistants supplant without any system the police judge and his system.

Society has set certain moral, ethical, and legal standards which, arising from justice and wisdom, must be obeyed by each individual in society. One standard declares against drinking to excess. Nevertheless, many men, especially young men not yet inspired with the discipline of society's army, disregard this standard, as well as others. Society now comes forward and says: "You must obey, both for your good and mine. I'll discipline you sternly, but kindly, and teach you to obey." That is society's way of saying our word reform. In order to carry out its purpose in the most efficient manner, society establishes a system. Three tools of its system of discipline it calls punishment, probation, and segregation. For the wise application of any one of these, and the degree of application, it deems necessary a previous knowledge of the individual subject's record. The police judges, who are the officers in whose charge Cleveland society places its disciplinary system, have the means of acquiring this diagnosary knowledge, and, what is better, the present judges use it as a basis of judgment in determining the best thing to do.

Is this a first offense? The judge lectures the offender and discharges him. Disagreeable? Certainly, but perhaps the offender, having learned that there is a limit to his rope of license, will be more careful than if he had not learned. Suppose it is a second or third offense (and the judge will know from previous court records if it is—remember, he will know)—a suspended sentence is given. The man knows now that the rope of license is taut, and a further foolish strain will precipitate a badly wrenched neck. He has a disciplinary check upon his weakness. The parole is broken, and he goes to the House of Correction for the first time. Mr. Kohler insinuates that all prisons are schools of crime. Surely no one will defend the Cleveland House of Correction as a model prison; but it has good points, not the least of which is an excellent parole system. Cleveland society says to the offender, "I wish to punish you, not from any spirit of revenge, but from a spirit of kindly interest and in view of what is best for you under the circumstances. I will be kind and not too severe." So it has established the parole system. A first offender, upon an intoxication charge, stays in the House of Correction only long enough to get the liquor out of his system and to learn well his lesson, that society means business when it directs him to quit his drinking and become useful. The purification accomplished and the lesson acquired, the offender is paroled under the care of an efficient parole officer. Perhaps he goes to the Brotherhood for a time, a home for just such as he, where fellow ex-prisoners assist him in finding work and re-establishing himself in society.

With these checks there is some hope

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of reformation—or was, because since the establishment of the Golden Rule Policy the offender falls no longer into the police court mill. Mr. Kohler has taken away from the agents appointed by society to do its disciplinary task the opportunity of doing it, and set up himself and his officers as self-elected agents. The pretender is in power. Does he do his work? Is there hope of reformation under his plan? Judgment of the Golden Rule Policy is pendent upon the answer to these questions.

Following the intoxicated man through the Golden Rule Mill, we find him sent home or taken into custody and allowed to cool off overnight in a police station. Suppose the latter is true, as it is most often. Next morning the offender is released by the officer with a lecture, or sent into a session of Mr. Kohler's Sunrise Court and released upon a waiver. Free and himself once more, he is secure in the realization, if he thinks about it, that he escaped a police court record. Probably his name and offense will not be upon the police blotter even. The only place it can be found is in a private record kept by the Chief. This is a latest addition to the original Golden Rule Policy, and any one may readily see how, in the hands of a less scrupulous man than Chief Kohler, it might become an agent of blackmail. The man knows, too, that he escaped a fine, payment of which would do no one any particular good. There is so much money left in his pocket for the use of his wife and children—perhaps. And he avoids that most distasteful of stigmas, incarceration in the House of Correction, which might also be to him an initiation in a school of crime. He is grateful, no doubt, for this leniency; but gratitude, without any check upon appetite, does not prevent a second drunkenness. And right here appears the most disappointing feature in the Golden Rule Policy.

Drunk, Golden-Ruled, and released on the west side of the city to-day, he may be drunk, Golden-Ruled, and released upon the east side of the city to-morrow, the east side patrolman totally unaware that the west side officer had already performed the ceremony. As a matter of record, a man is known to have been Golden-Ruled three times within a week, not one of the three officers knowing that the fellow had received attention from either of the others. In less than a month the same man received a fourth lecture, administered by an officer who knew nothing of the three other attempts. Surely this is not reformatory. It is *laissez faire*. There is no system by means of which each officer in his judicial capacity may know of the drunken man's previous career. Without such knowledge the proper check cannot be applied to a man's appetite. Further, there is no opportunity for segregation, parole, probation, and labor at the disposal of the Golden Rule patrolman, without which the proper reformatory restraints and boosts cannot be employed. An appetite conquers a man, destroys his productive powers, eats the heart from his happiness, and brings the ruins of a home crashing about his ears. Comes now a wife pleading for work that she may support her children. "No," she says, "I don't want to arrest him. He's a good man except when the drink is in him. It's the drink that does it." Yes, that's true. And it is the Golden Rule wife and the Golden Rule officer that assist the drink in doing it.

But enough of intoxication. The problem of vagrancy has been more characteristically Golden-Ruled than any other offense. In 1907 500 persons were arrested on that charge; in 1908, 200. Sixty out of every one hundred formerly arrested escaped. The method of escape was as follows: Periodically Mr. Kohler sent his men out to gather in the hobo and the vagrant. When all were gathered, they were loaded into patrol wagons, carried to the city limits, and there dumped. It happens that Cleveland is bounded on the front by Lake Erie, and on the sides by thriving, thickly settled suburban towns. Of course the tramps couldn't be dumped into the lake, and so the honor of becoming a dump heap for Cleveland's social scourings fell upon the suburban cities. East Cleveland, Lakewood, and the rest, simply continuances of Cleveland residence sections, are not possessed of very large police forces. Imagine, then, the joy of their inhabitants at receiving in a single consignment at midnight from fifty to two hundred floating men, many of whom were known to have notions concerning property rights not strictly in accordance

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with the statutes. Chief Franklin, of Lakewood, especially was well pleased. He officially indorsed the policy by corralling as many of his own vagrants as he could find, loading them upon a street car, and delivering them at the base of Moses Cleveland's monument, the very center of Cleveland. On the whole, it is a most unfortunate method of dealing with vagrants. Many of them return to the city at once. Some stay in the suburban communities to prey upon residences, and a few move on over the road of endless trampdom. Strained relations with the little neighbors whom she has bullied, and in the end as many vagrants as ever—these are Cleveland's fruits of the Golden Rule policy applied to the flotsam of mankind.

But the Golden Rule has not been confined to the drunkard and the vagrant. Charges of assault and battery decreased slightly in 1908 from the number of similar charges in 1907, indicating that brawlers were Golden-Ruled more frequently. Arrests for petit larceny in the same period decreased by 9 per cent; for carrying concealed weapons, by 45 per cent; gambling, by 92 per cent; receiving stolen property, by 33 per cent; housebreaking and larceny, by 71 per cent; assault, by 82 per cent. Some of these are serious crimes against property or the person, and the prevalence of hard times, together with an increase in population, do not argue in favor of any natural decrease of such crimes. There was an increase of arrests for neglecting minor children, which may be accounted for by a late reorganization and increased efficiency of the Humane Society, together with the non-reformative policy of Golden-Ruling drunken men. Arrests for obtaining goods under false pretenses, embezzlement, and one or two other offenses increased. But as these are made almost invariably upon warrants, the Chief may claim no honor from them.

Pickpockets have been prominent in Cleveland during the last winter, and the method of dealing with them is illuminated by an incident that occurred in April. Riding on the back platform of a street car, a passenger was roughly jostled by a fellow-rider. Simultaneously with the jostling he felt a hand in his vest pocket, and accused a third man of having designs upon his roll of money. The accused stranger leaped from the car and fled, accompanied by the first fellow who had roughly jostled the intended victim. Each of the fugitives seemed equally intent upon escape. One stopped a car upon another line, held it until his companion arrived, helped him aboard, then signaled the car to proceed. They were captured by a pursuing band of angry citizens and held until an officer arrived. Did he arrest both on the evidence of the witnesses at hand? No, indeed. He held the one who had thrust his hand into the vest pocket and released the other. There were the facts that the second suspect had first jostled the intended victim, fled with his companion, who knew enough of his desire to escape to hold a street car for him and help him aboard, and stood side by side with his pal in their struggle against the crowd. These signified nothing. In the eyes of the Golden Rule officer, one was a suspicious character and the other was not. "Better to allow two to go free than to arrest one wrongfully," says Mr. Kohler. And his officers, in cringing fear of their master's caustic reprimands and summary action, go to the limit in their bouts with former police standards.

Another case occurred lately in which a group of men were finally indicted, but not through any effort of the police. A dealer in junk, purchasing for eight dollars brass worth one hundred dollars, learned that the brass had been stolen from a local canal. In co-operation with the canal agent, he located the men who had sold him the goods, collected sufficient evidence to incriminate them with the theft, and requested their arrest. The police ignored the request, although the suspects were known to have the impolite custom of borrowing other people's property when they weren't looking, with no intention of returning it. Time passed, and finally, spurred by the inertia of the police and fear that the men would escape, arrests were procured through warrants. The defendants were indicted readily by the Grand Jury, and as I write await trial, with little chance for freedom.

These are but two examples which show the radical change in police methods

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of dealing with serious crimes. It is from a laxity of enforcement of the punitive statutes governing these crimes, and an open door for intoxication, vagrancy, and similar irresponsibilities, that objections to the Golden Rule Policy arise. Mr. Kohler states proudly that humanity gains and reformation advances apace through his methods. Would it be bold to suggest humbly that any policy which acknowledges the necessity for the existence of evil and then proclaims a *laissez-faire* method of dealing with it is wrong? There are certain moral standards which must, during our day at least, be maintained for the sake of physical and mental happiness, individual and social strength. And any laxity in upholding those standards, in enforcing them upon the unwilling, in teaching them by the upper-cuts of experience, if you will, is a crawling evil that will perforate our strength and ruin it. It is true that the modern gospel teaches us kindness in dealing with drunkards, the immoral, the criminal, and their like; but a wise commitment, untiring, long-extended personal attention, together with medical and psychological skill, are the available formulæ for handling them. The police, without assistance from the court and correction machinery, have none of these means at hand, nor the power to use them if they had. They are ignorant, untrained scavengers of the social body, and, when told to occupy the pastor's post, naturally they drop the scavenger's job, sit in the pastor's chair, but do none of his work, because they can't. The plan of our Government grew out of wise experience, and it seems better to allow the patrolman to carry out his special function of maintaining order, and to permit the courts to pursue their functions too, deciding upon methods of correction and feeding the machinery that grinds out the correction. We have heard something in late years of the so-called full armament policy of our Government, which calls for a powerful army and navy, ready to strike swift, certain strokes as the best preventive of war. Practically any policy which gives the impression to those preying upon society that society's protective forces are incompetent or run mad, which raises in the lawless an expectation of committing crimes and escaping punishment, is as weak a policy as disarmament is said to be. Mr. Kohler's policy of police repression, which partakes of the theory of full armament, is thoughtful and wise; his policy of Golden Rule, which partakes of disarmament, is inconsistent and unwise.

THE ENJOYMENT OF MUSIC

THE SYNTAX OF MELODY

BY DANIEL GREGORY MASON

OF the three appeals that music makes, the sensuous, the æsthetic, and the expressive,[1] undoubtedly the most indispensable is the second—the æsthetic appeal of beautiful form. Music can be beautiful without expressing anything very definite, and without being embodied in tones which particularly delight the physical ear; but no gorgeousness of sound and no emotional intensity of utterance can reconcile us to flat and trivial, or to fragmentary and inconsequent, melody. Therefore no study is more important to the would-be music-lover than the study of the principles of musical structure, both those which govern the building of single tones into melodies and those which concern the later composition of these melodies into complete pieces. We shall take up here the former and simpler principles—those of the syntax of melody.

Now the first necessity of syntax for the musician, as well as for the poet, is some means of building up the units (tones in one case, words in the other) into

[1] See the article on "The Listener's Part in Music," printed in The Outlook for October 30.

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intelligible groups (musical phrases, sentences); and this means the composer finds in *meter*, the measuring off in time of his music by regular beats, uniform in duration, but made distinguishable one from another by *accent*, that is, by laying more stress on every second or every third beat. Hence arise "duple" and "triple" meter—heavy, light; and heavy, light, light—from which all more complicated meters are derived by the simple process of addition.

Without meter music would be vague and formless; our minds would have nothing to take hold of in listening to it, and would end by being thoroughly confused and bored. But, on the other hand, if the tones always corresponded exactly to the beats, one to each beat—no more and no less—we should soon become, perhaps not so confused, but equally bored by that relentless *dum, dum, dum*. We should dislike such a rigid mechanical regularity almost as much as utter irregularity. We are evidently critics hard to please; we want balance, order, arrangement, but we want it made freely and elastically; in a word, here as in so many other artistic matters, we want *Variety in Unity*.

The charm of Pope's well-known couplet, for example,

"A little learning is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring,"

is due largely to its combination of variety with unity of meter. The general plan is to place light and heavy syllables one after the other until there is a line of five of these groups of one light and one heavy. These groups, corresponding to the measures in music, are called "feet;" and the line is called a "pentameter," which means "five measures." Pope, however, is too good an artist to follow out his scheme mechanically, well knowing that, if he did, we should soon tire of his verses. What he does instead is to place his important words in such a way that they shall pull the accents a little away from the places where we expect them, without doing so enough to confuse our idea of the meter. In the second line he weights the first light beat by putting the important word "drink" upon it, he throws out the third accent entirely by placing the unimportant word "the" where we expect it, and he induces us to make up for this by lingering on the e in "Pierian:"

"Drínk déep, or táste not the Piérian spríng."

Such slight dislocations of the accent keep the verse from becoming mechanical. Pope himself had his laugh at the poets who never use them when he wrote, mimicking their style:

"And ten low words oft creep in one dull line."

As the poet, within his regular lines, constantly varies his word-patterns, so the musician, within his regular measures, constantly varies his tone-patterns, now dividing a beat into many short tones, now holding one tone through many beats. It is really marvelous what variety composers can get, within perfectly regular measures, by managing skillfully their long and short tones, and thus building up characteristic tone-patterns or "motives," which by their striking rhythms engage our interest. This is well illustrated in the melody from Beethoven, the opening of his Piano Concerto, opus 58, shown in Figure I, on the following page.

The meter is the common duple one, heavy, light, heavy, light; yet Beethoven breaks up the beats in such a way as to produce three distinct "motives" or tone-patterns, which by their sharply marked character suggest further melody, and so, in truth, become the motive power, the propelling force, of the music. First of all, after the opening chord, comes what we will call motive (*a*), a group of three light notes and one heavy, which extends over the first bar line,[1] and is twice repeated. It is interesting to note that this rhythm ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – is also found in each of the four movements of the Fifth Symphony, which Beethoven was writing at the same time as this concerto. Evidently his mind was just then possessed by that rhythm, which is said to have been suggested to him by the song of one of the German birds, the yellowhammer.

The second motive, (*b*), appears in the third measure, and consists of three tones,

[1] In all melody analysis it is well to bear in mind that the bar is an artificial arrangement, the motive being quite as likely to extend over it as to stop with it—indeed, more likely, since our minds most easily grasp motives which begin with light notes and end with a heavy one.

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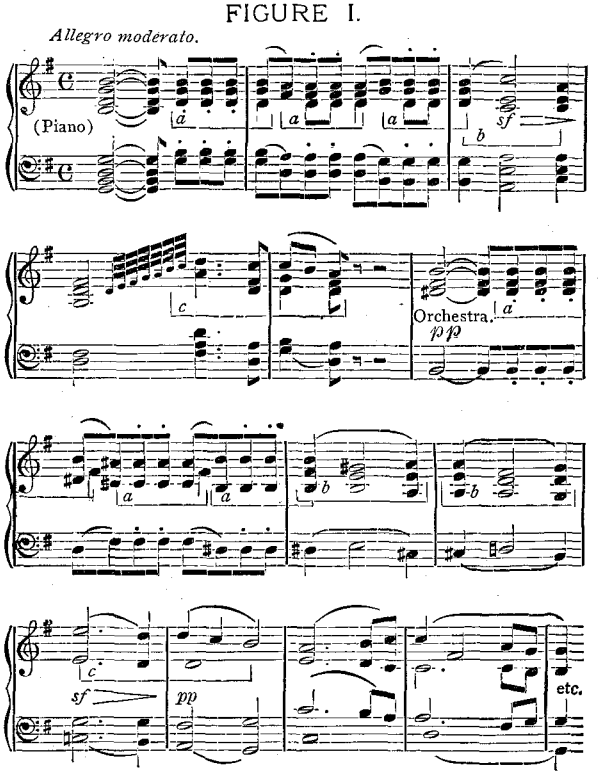
of which the second is the longest and most important, taking for itself the accent which we should expect on the third beat, just as in Pope's verses the e in Pierian usurps the accent we should expect on "the." In both cases the shift of emphasis produces a pleasant variety.[1]

The third motive, (*c*), is the peculiar group of five tones led up to by the quick run in the fourth measure.

So much of the melody is given out by the piano. Then, after a slight pause, gives the composer room to get back to the key with which he started. And what of the next two measures? They look like something new; but carefully listened to they turn out to be simply motive (*c*) *stretched out to twice its original length.* Another kind of variety! The last two measures of all do not come definitely from any of the motives, but merely provide a satisfactory close.

The wonderful thing about this tune is the great variety of rhythm that Beethoven

FIGURE I.

the orchestra comes in, answering the piano by sounding motive (*a*) three times, but in a different key, thereby giving us a tonal variety which adds its own charm to the rhythmic variety already enjoyed. Motive (*b*) follows as at first, but *twice* instead of once (measures eight and nine). This repetition "kills two birds with one stone." It adds a still further variety, agreeably unexpected, and it gets in measures all having the same meter and using only three motives—the great variety, and at the same time the perfect unity. Only a master-composer can do this, and only the listener who appreciates such variety in unity can appreciate the masterpieces, and see how much finer they are than the empty little tunes we hear whistled in the streets and sung in vaudeville.

Turning back now to the quotation from Pope, we may go a step further than before, and notice that just as the "feet" are arranged in a definite scheme of meter, with the object of satisfying our

[1] It is worth pointing out that the device made so popular among us by "ragtime" music is nothing but this pulling away of the accent from the note on which we expect it to a second and longer note. In itself such a process is capable of truly artistic effect. The vulgarity of ragtime is due to the excessive and undiscriminating use of it.

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desire for orderliness, while at the same time monotony is avoided by the variety of the word-patterns, so the lines as a whole balance each other with a similar impression of symmetry and order on a larger scale. The whole of the second line echoes or answers the whole of the first; and the fourth also answers the third:

"There shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
And drinking largely sobers us again."

But the agreeable variety we noted in the word-patterns is lacking in this larger pattern of sentences; the balance is so regular as to be fairly mechanical: down goes the voice at the end of each line, as if it were run by clockwork. In short, Pope, clever as he is with his "feet" rhythms, is in this particular case (as in many others) somewhat crude in the management of the line or verse rhythms.

A comparison with the wonderful opening lines of Keats's "Endymion" will make this evident:

"A thing of beauty is a joy forever:
Its loveliness increases; it will never
Pass into nothingness; but still will keep
A bower quiet for us, and a sleep
Full of sweet dreams, and health, and quiet breathing."

Here the phrases and sentences balance as in the Pope, but in a much freer, less mechanical way, because *Keats has taken pains that they shall not correspond exactly with the lines*. In the first line, to be sure, where it is important to give the reader a clear idea of the swing of the verses, idea and meter do exactly match, each ending at the word "ever;" but after that, what fascinating variety! The lines end at "never," "keep," "sleep," and "breathing," as the rhymes clearly show us; but the *ideas*, the sentences or phrases, end at "increases," "nothingness," "us," and "breathing," at which points, therefore, the voice naturally falls and pauses. In this way a new beauty arises, a beauty again of Variety in Unity, the unity now lying in the equal length of the lines, the variety in the constantly changing length of the sentences, and in the resulting irregular rise and fall of the voice.

Two questions now naturally suggest themselves: First, is there anything in music like the balancing of the lines and of the sentences in poetry? Second, does the analogy hold good to the extent that music, like poetry, is most beautiful when this balance is somewhat irregular?

The first is so simple as to need no detailed answer. It is one of the most familiar facts in the experience of any one acquainted with the commonest hymn-tunes and popular airs that music is divided up into groups of tones somewhat longer than motives, similar to the lines in poetry, and called "phrases." The phrase is the shortest musical idea which, unlike the fragmentary motive, is complete in itself. Moreover, we all know that phrases are, as a rule, of equal length, balancing each other exactly, like Pope's lines, as, for instance, in "Nearer, My God, to Thee," which consists of eight phrases, each two measures long.

What is not so obvious, owing to the fact that our musical taste is less cultivated than our literary, is that phrase-balance in a melody may be as elastic as sentence-balance in poetry, and that in the noblest music it is so. The Beethoven concerto theme is enough to prove this. In the first place, the opening phrase is not the humdrum four measures in length, but *five*—an uneven number, albeit it is so skillfully put together that we feel in it no eccentricity. Secondly, Beethoven extends his second phrase by repeating one motive, stretching out another, and adding two measures at the end, to no less than eight measures.

Yet, in spite of all this play of fancy, there is not the least doubt in our minds that the second phrase balances the first, and balances it most satisfactorily. Indeed, the varying length of the phrases adds a new beauty to the music, a free grace akin to that of Keats's verses. Our second question is thus answered: Phrase-balance tends to become mechanical when the phrases are all turned out of the same mold, and is most beautiful when they have a fair degree of variety.

No composer has excelled Beethoven in subtlety of phrase-balance, and the sketch-books in which he laboriously and with tireless patience transformed the often commonplace germs of musical ideas into his immortal melodies afford many object-lessons. Every one has felt, for example, though perhaps without examin-

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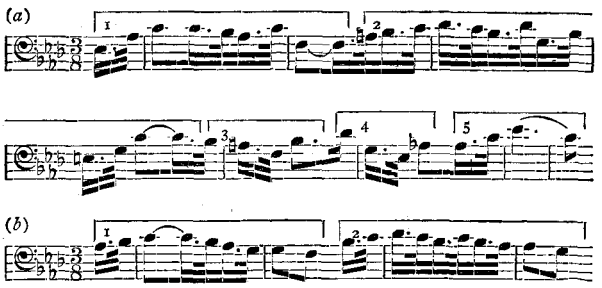
ing its sources, the beauty of the theme of the Andante in his Fifth Symphony, the phrases of which are marked by brackets in Figure II (*a*). It consists of five

FIGURE II.



phrases: two long ones, then two short ones, and a final long one. There is nothing remarkable in such a scheme; but note what freshness the second phrase gets by having its final tone delayed until the second beat of the measure, to which it pulls the accent—how the pair of short phrases are contrasted by letting the second give one of its tones to the first—how the last is made to poise on that long tone (three whole beats) which gives us a sense of coming to rest.

A beautiful melody indeed. And now look at the original idea from which it was developed, Figure II (*b*). Observe how set, how inflexible, how sing-song is the exact echoing of phrase by phrase. See how the latter lands heavily on the first beat instead of soaring over to the second. See how both phrases are introduced by the same number of unaccented tones instead of by two in one case and three in the other, as in the finished tune. The sketch is hardly more than the heavy marble block out of which Beethoven has cunningly carved his living, breathing statue.

The third step in the building of a melody out of single tones is governed by the same principles as the two we have examined, and like them finds an analogy in poetry. Just as the poet completes his work by combining his "couplets," or pairs of lines, in stanzas, so the musician completes his by arranging his groups of balancing phrases in a complete tune. And in this stage long experience has shown composers that the best way to get a maximum of variety together with perfect unity is to put a contrasting group in the middle, and come back at the end to the original groups.

The familiar old tune of "Nearer, My God, to Thee" well illustrates this plan of "Statement, Contrast, and Restatement," as it is called. It consists of eight phrases, all exactly the same length. The third and fourth of these balance the first and second, all four together making up the first part of the tune, the Statement. Notice, now, that the fifth phrase, which is answered by the sixth, introduces a little pleasant variety by going higher in pitch and being more earnest in expression. These two make the Contrast. Then, finally, the seventh and eighth phrases restate the melody of the third and fourth, and thus bring us back to the point from which we started.

So simple and natural, and so delightful in its balance, is this arrangement of phrases, giving rise to what is called "Three-part form," or "Song form," that we find it used in hundreds of tunes, of all nations and of all times. "'Way Down upon the Suwanee River," "My Old Kentucky Home," "The Campbells are Comin'," "John Highlandman" and "Auld Lang Syne," "Jerusalem the Golden" and the Austrian Hymn—in all these it is used most perspicuously. In other melodies it is slightly disguised by a greater complexity and less regular balance of phrases.

Such, then, is the syntax of melody: the grouping of single tones into motives, of motives into phrases, of phrases into balancing pairs, and of such pairs into complete tunes. In all the stages the composer's ideal is Variety in Unity; and if we would appreciate his art we must learn by careful listening, aided by analysis, to discern the subtle interplay of these two never-relinquished principles.

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LAW AND ORDER AND THE NEGRO

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

FIFTH PAPER IN THE STORY OF THE NEGRO

NOT infrequently I hear it said that, since the overthrow of the Reconstruction governments, and particularly since the passage of the disfranchisement laws, the Negro has lost his place in Southern politics. This depends, to some extent, on what one means by politics. Negroes still vote in all the Southern States, though the number of Negro voters has been very greatly curtailed in some States, and particularly in those which suffered most from the vices and mismanagement of the Reconstruction governments. Negroes still hold offices under the Federal Government, and the proportion of Negroes in the civil service of the United States is constantly increasing.

Aside from the number of votes cast, however, and the number of offices which these votes controlled, Negroes probably exercise a greater influence on public order and public policy in the Southern States to-day than they ever did before. Directly and indirectly, through their churches and through their schools; through their doctors of medicine, lawyers, and business men; through their lodges, banks, corporations, clubs, law and order leagues, etc., Negroes are exercising a very large and a very positive influence upon the lives of the communities in which they live. As an illustration of what I mean I want to relate, as briefly as I am able, the story of the Colored Law and Order League of Baltimore, Maryland.

In the city of Baltimore there is one of the largest and most populous colored neighborhoods in any city in the world. I have already referred to this neighborhood as one which possibly contains more homes and better homes owned and occupied by colored people than any other similar district in any of the large cities of the country.

This district extends along Druid Hill Avenue from Utah Street to North Avenue, and with the adjacent streets covers an area a mile and a half long, by from one-sixteenth to one-half a mile wide. The upper part of this district is given up to the better class of residences, usually three-story brick buildings, fronting directly on the street, and is comparatively free from saloons or other nuisances. A few years ago this region was inhabited by some of the best white families in the city, but as the city has grown these people have moved out into the suburbs, and the colored people have come in to take their places.

The lower end of Druid Hill Avenue is a district of quite a different character. In a section seven blocks long and two blocks wide there were, a few years ago, before the Colored Law and Order League began its work, no less than forty-two saloons. What made this situation the more disagreeable, and even dangerous, was the fact that these saloons were located in close proximity to most of the Negro churches and Negro schools in that district. For example, there were, all in close proximity to the saloons I have mentioned, fifteen churches, twelve schools, one home for old people, one home for friendless children, the Colored Young Men's Christian Association, and the Colored Young Women's Christian Association. In addition to the forty-two saloons there were, in this same region, numerous dance-houses, billiard-halls, and club-rooms, where gambling was openly carried on, which frequently became places of assignation for girls and young women.

The better class of colored people on Druid Hill Avenue had long looked with concern on the condition of things that existed in the lower part of the district. But it is not an easy thing for Negroes to take the initiative in matters of this kind. For one thing, Southern white people, as a rule, do not expect it of them, and it is true of the race as it is of an individual, that you rarely get from them anything more or better than you expect. Another thing that, perhaps, made the colored people hesitate was the fact that a large

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proportion of the saloons in the district, more than half, although they were supported by Negroes, were kept by white people. Besides that, these places seemed to have a sort of police protection, which, because it was long established, would be hard to break up. It was, perhaps, true also that in Baltimore, as in some other cities, saloons and dens of vice which were not allowed to exist in other parts of the city were permitted to take refuge in the districts where the masses of the colored people lived. For this reason many people have been led to assume that respectable and industrious Negroes do not have the same objection to the presence of vice among them that other people have.

It was the Atlanta riot, I have been told, that set the better class of colored people to thinking, and led them finally to the conviction that this reform movement must be undertaken by themselves. In October, 1906, a meeting was called by the Rev. John Hurst, one of the most progressive of Baltimore's colored ministers. At this meeting there were present W. Ashbie Hawkins, one of the leading colored lawyers of the city; Dr. Howard E. Young, a druggist; Dr. Whitfield Winsey, a physician who had practiced for thirty years among the colored people; Dr. Thomas S. Hawkins, one of the younger colored physicians of the city; Heber E. Wharton, vice-principal of one of the colored public schools; Harry T. Pratt, a grade supervisor in the public schools; Dr. J. H. N. Waring, Principal of the Colored High School; the Rev. E. F. Eggleston, pastor of the Grace Presbyterian Church; and the Rev. J. Albert Johnson, who shortly afterward became a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

At this first meeting it was decided to make a careful study of the actual conditions among the colored people in the city. The Committee divided themselves into sub-committees. One of these made a study of the sanitary conditions, another investigated the moral influence surrounding the schools.

One of the facts which the Committee learned from a study of a map furnished by the Health Office was that a narrow street called Biddle Alley, running off from Druid Hill Avenue, was the "tuberculosis center" of the State. This meant that in that particular region there were more deaths from tuberculosis than at any other point in the whole State of Maryland. One line from the report of the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor indicates at least one cause for this condition. The report stated that of the two hundred and fifteen houses in Biddle Alley seventy-one had leaky roofs.

In these narrow alleys, however, tons of washing were gathered every week from the best homes in the city, to be laundered by the Negro washerwomen who lived in this district. This condition is, of course, not different from what may be found in almost any other Southern city, but it makes clear the danger that threatens the more well-to-do portion of the population when the people who work for them and are dependent upon them are thus neglected and allowed to live in filthy, unwholesome, and immoral surroundings.

As the Committee progressed in their investigation and sought to lay their plans to improve the conditions that they had discovered, they were made to feel their dependence upon the white people of the city and their inability to accomplish anything unless they secured their support. Liquor boards had been accustomed to ignore the protests of the colored churches. Police boards were not inclined to consider their complaints. There seems to have been a general feeling that colored people were either themselves so criminal, or so disposed to shield and protect criminals of their own race, that their protests against lawlessness and lawbreaking were not to be taken seriously. It became absolutely necessary, therefore, that the Committee should secure the support of the influential white people of the city if they hoped to be successful in the campaign they had planned.

The next move, therefore, was to appoint a sub-committee to secure the active interest of leading white men. This committee visited the late Daniel C. Gilman, ex-President of Johns Hopkins University; Mr. Douglas H. Wylie, at that time President of the Chamber of Commerce; Mr. Eugene Levering, President of the

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Commercial National Bank; Bishop Paret, head of the Episcopal Church in the Baltimore Diocese; Mr. Joseph Packard, at that time President of the Board of School Commissioners; Mr. Robert H. Smith, a leading lawyer; Mr. John C. Rose, United States District Attorney, who subsequently acted as legal adviser for the Committee; Mr. Isaac Cate, a retired capitalist; Mr. John M. Glenn, Secretary of the Sage Foundation; Judge Alfred S. Niles, of the Supreme Court of Maryland; and Mr. W. Hall Harris, city postmaster.

All of these men, as soon as the matter was fairly presented to them, showed the heartiest interest in the plans and purposes of the Committee. The members of the Committee found, however, that there were certain questions which continually occurred, to which they felt compelled to find a definite answer. For instance, one of the questions that was frequently asked was whether or not the saloons and dives which they wanted suppressed, and the conditions of immorality surrounding them, were not due, for the most part, to the idleness and laziness of the colored people. A study of the statistics compiled by the United States Census Bureau showed, however, that a larger percentage not only of the colored women but of the colored men of Maryland were at work than is true of the whites.

The Committee were frequently asked in regard to the home life of the colored people. In reply to this inquiry the Committee pointed out that, while the conditions in Negro homes are in many cases not what they should be, nevertheless the rapid increase in the ownership of homes, particularly in the Druid Hill district, indicated that there was an upward movement in this direction, and this is true not only in the cities, but in the country districts as well. The statistics of the United States Census Bureau show, for instance, that the colored farmers of the State own 57 per cent of the farm lands they till.

Another question frequently asked of members of the Committee concerned the effect of education upon the Negro. One of the men, I was informed, who was most helpful to the Committee in its work did not believe that the education paid the State what it cost, or was of any particular value to the Negro himself. In reply to this question, the Committee was able to show that the Colored High School, which has been in existence more than twenty-five years, in all its history had furnished but one inmate for a jail or penitentiary. The Committee was able to show, not only that this school had not made criminals of its students, but that, on the contrary, its former students and graduates were nearly all of them engaged in occupations in which they were more useful to the community than they otherwise could have been.

In order to illustrate the value of the education of the Negro to the community at large, the Committee cited the history of a Negro criminal, Ike Winder by name, who had murdered a toll-gate keeper in Baltimore County. To arrest, try, imprison, and execute Ike Winder cost the State $2,000 more than it cost to educate one of the graduates of the Colored High School. Assuming that Ike Winder, if he had graduated from the high school, would have done as well as the other graduates, the State lost not only the money expended in convicting and executing him, but it lost the economic value of an educated citizen. The Committee estimated that the average earnings of an ignorant Negro in the State of Maryland were not much more than fifteen dollars a month, while the average earnings of an educated Negro averaged about seventy-five dollars a month.

The full and frank discussion of these questions between the members of the Committee and representative white citizens whom they visited showed that there was a basis for co-operation between the best whites and the best blacks of the city. The result was the formation of a joint plan of action in which both races might unite their efforts. It was decided, among other things, to appoint an advisory committee of the whites to act in conjunction with a a similar committee of the colored people.

The first thing attempted was the organization of a larger and more representative body of colored men, to be known as the Law and Order League. The purpose of this Law and Order League was, first of all, to create a public spirit among the masses of the colored people

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which could be positively opposed to all forms of vice, immorality, and crime, such as are fostered by the low saloon and dive. Petitions were drawn up and sent to the Liquor Board and the Police Board for the purpose of securing a better enforcement of the law and, if possible, a suppression of some of the more notorious saloons in the district. A series of meetings were held at Grace Presbyterian Church, in which the colored ministers, doctors, lawyers, and business men all took part. In this way a campaign was begun to give Baltimore's colored children a real chance in life.

A Law and Order League was formed and a petition to the Liquor License Board was drawn up. A bill was drawn up for presentation to the Legislature to prevent the sale of liquor in certain sections of Baltimore.

Finally it was decided, in order to arouse sentiment in favor of the work of the League among the white people, to take measures to present their case to the ministers of both races. Members of the Committee appeared before the Association of Presbyterian, Congregational, and Reformed Church ministers, before the Ministerial Union, the Methodist Ministers' Association, before the African Methodist Episcopal Ministers' Association and the Colored Ministerial Union. One of the ministers who was most helpful to the Committee, I was informed, was an ex-Confederate chaplain, and three or four of the other white men who took an active interest in the work had been Confederate soldiers.

After the petition drawn up by the Law and Order League had been approved by the Advisory Committee of white men, it was presented to the Board of Liquor License Commissioners. Perhaps because of the source from which the petition came, it created considerable comment in the newspapers. The Baltimore Sun, in commenting upon it, said:

> The Liquor License Board's action upon the petition of many good citizens for a reduction of the number of licenses for saloons at certain points in northwest Baltimore is awaited with much interest by that portion of the public which is concerned in the good order of that section of the city. It is a section which has not in the past had the best reputation for freedom from acts of violence and disorder on the part of Negro roughs and bad characters, and this is believed to be connected with the fact that in a comparatively small area there are as many as forty-five saloons, of which eight are conducted by Negroes. As a considerable portion of the Negro population of the city has its habitat there, it is interesting to note that the most urgent advocates of a reduction of the number of the saloons are the Colored Law and Order League, with many colored ministers, teachers, and lawyers. . . . The white element of the northwestern section is also concerned to have eliminated, as far as possible, the danger to peace and order created by the objectionable places in its neighborhood. It is clearly up to the Liquor License Board to exercise, in the public interest, the wide discretion it possesses. When saloons are excessively numerous and a menace to good people, licenses may and should be withdrawn till the quota for each neighborhood is within reasonable limits.

An interesting feature of the struggle was the petition sent in by property-holders on McCulloh Street. McCulloh Street immediately adjoins Druid Hill on the north, and marks the boundary between the white and the colored districts. The people in this street bitterly resented the "invasion" of Druid Hill Avenue by the blacks. Their action in coming to the support of the Law and Order League was consequently a great and welcome surprise.

One of the points brought out in the discussion before the Board of Liquor License Commissioners was that the presence of so large a number of saloons in this neighborhood had depreciated the value of the property in some cases as much as 100 per cent. There was a disposition at first to charge this depreciation in value to the presence of colored people. It was asserted that colored people always lowered the value of property. This charge was easily disproved by showing that on the upper end of Druid Hill Avenue, in the neighborhood into which the better class of colored people were moving, property was actually selling at higher prices than it had reached when it was inhabited wholly by whites. One of the first colored men to buy property in the upper Druid Hill district bought a house in a row in which prices have advanced over sixty per cent. It is said that houses in this neighborhood rent and sell for from twenty to fifty per cent higher than prevailed when the neighborhood was white.

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The testimony offered by the colored people, by the men who owned the saloons, and by the police was so conflicting that the Liquor License Commissioners determined to make a personal inspection. They found eleven saloons openly violating the law, and determined that these eleven should not be relicensed. The next day the Baltimore News gave the following account of the results of the inspection made by the License Commission:

> The Board of Liquor License Commissioners deserve, and will receive, public commendation for their refusal yesterday to grant eleven saloon licenses which the Law and Order League protested against. The saloons are situated on Druid Hill Avenue, Pennsylvania Avenue, and adjacent streets, and have been the subject of grave complaint. President Howard and his associates could not signalize the close of their term of office better than by setting such an example to the incoming Liquor License Commissioners.
>
> There is one development in connection with the hearings in these cases which calls for more than passing notice, and that is the testimony of the police as to the character of the saloons. It is a remarkable thing that, with so many respectable people in a neighborhood complaining about these saloons, the police—who should be most familiar with conditions—could find nothing wrong about them. Worse than this, in the case of saloons so plainly objectionable that the Liquor License Commissioners, on personal inspection, discover reason enough for refusing licenses, policemen are found blandly swearing that they are decent, orderly places.
>
> The report of the Liquor License Commissioners is a serious indictment of the credibility of policemen as witnesses in hearings of this character, and suggests the need of a searching investigation to ascertain why the police are ignorant of conditions in the neighborhood in question, which are shown to be shockingly bad.

The rejection of the application of the eleven saloons for renewal of their liquor licenses was immediately followed by renewed applications under other names. But the Law and Order League had the support of all the best white and colored people in the city, and the licenses were not renewed.

I have described the work of the Baltimore Law and Order League[1] at some length because it illustrates the way in which the better element in both races are quietly getting together, in many parts of the South, in order to bring about an improvement in conditions which are dangerous to both races. Similar efforts in other directions and on a smaller scale are being made in many of the smaller cities in the Southern States. Even where these movements have not been wholly successful, the effort of the two races to get together in the way I have described seems to me a hopeful sign, and one on which we cannot place too much emphasis.

In regard to the political influence of the Negro, I might say, also, that close observation in every State in the South convinces me that while the Negro does not go through the form of casting the ballot in order to express his political influence to the extent that the white man does, in every Southern community there is a group of property-holding men, and often women, of high character, who do always exert political influence in the matters that concern the protection and progress of their race. Sometimes this influence is exerted individually, sometimes in group, but it is felt nevertheless. I know any number of Negroes in the South whose influence is so strong because of their character that their wish or word expressed to a local or State official will go almost as far as the word of any white man will go. There is a kind of influence that the man exerts who is prosperous, intelligent, and possesses high character, a kind of influence that is intangible and hard to define, but which no law can deprive him of.

I do not mean to suggest that the sort of personal influence I have described is in any way a substitute for the ballot, or can be expected to take its place. It ought to be clearly recognized that, in a republican form of government, if any group of people is left permanently without the franchise they are placed at a serious disadvantage. I do not object to restrictions being placed upon the use of the ballot, but if any portion of the population is prevented from taking part in the government by reason of these restrictions, they should have held out before them the incentive of securing the ballot in proportion as they grow in

[1] A more complete account of the "Work of the Colored Law and Order League" will be found in the publication of the Committee of Twelve, by James H. N. Waring, under that title.

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property-holding, intelligence, and character.

I have already referred, in another part of this narrative, to the town of Mound Bayou, Mississippi. This town, and the colony of which it is the center, is one of the few places in this country in which the government is carried on entirely by Negroes. A few years ago I made a special study of this town, and I was very much impressed with a statement, which I heard frequently repeated, that Mound Bayou was one of the most orderly communities in the Yazoo Delta.

The records of the Mayor's court show that, as Delta towns go, Mound Bayou is a remarkably quiet and sober place. There have been but two homicides in twenty years. Both of these were committed by strangers—men who drifted into the community in the early days before the local self-government and the traditions of the town had been established. One of the men killed was Benjamin T. Green, who was the partner of Isaiah T. Montgomery in the early days of the town. The man who committed this crime was afterward identified as a fugitive from justice, who was wanted for some desperate crime committed in the vicinity of Mobile. The murder was the result of a trivial altercation in regard to a box of tacks.

During the whole twenty years of the town's existence only three persons have been sent to the circuit court for trial. Two of these were men convicted of theft. Since the town obtained its charter, in 1898, there have been, up to February, 1907, but 163 criminal cases tried in the town. Of these, fifty were committed by strangers or by men who had come into town from the surrounding community. Twenty-eight cases were either never tried or were of so trivial a nature that no fine was imposed. Sixty-four were cases of disturbing the peace.

It is interesting to read the records of the Mayor's court. They are an index to the life of the village, and reflect the changing current of public opinion in regard to the moral discipline and order of the town.

In July, 1902, the records show that fourteen persons were arrested and fined for failure to pay the street tax. Every citizen of the town is required to do three dollars' worth of work on the streets every year. Some had neglected to pay this labor tax, and allowed the street to fall into a condition of neglect. As a result of a discussion of the matter in the town council, a number of the delinquents were arrested and compelled to pay fines amounting to $3.50 and costs amounting to $1.40 each.

Again, in 1904, a man was arrested for gambling. He had established what is known in sporting parlance as a "crap" game, and on Saturday nights a number of young men of the village were accustomed to gather at his place to gamble. He was repeatedly warned, and finally the town marshal and some of the more substantial citizens made a raid upon the place and arrested fifteen persons. The cases were dismissed after each man had paid a fine of two dollars. A year later another man was arrested for running a "blind tiger"—selling liquor without a license. He formerly owned a store in the town, but began selling liquor, then commenced to drink, and was rapidly going to the dogs. After his place had been closed he went out into the country and took up farming again. It is reported that he is doing well there.

During the year 1905 there were several disturbances in the town which were traced directly to the illicit liquor sellers. Men would come into the town on Saturdays to do their marketing, fall to drinking, and end in a fight. Things became so bad at last that a public meeting was held in regard to the matter. As a result of this meeting, the town marshal, the mayor, and the treasurer were appointed to get evidence and secure the conviction of those who were guilty. Six persons were convicted and fined at that time. One of these, a woman, left town. Another is still under suspicion, and the rest, now on their farms, have become respectable citizens.

To my mind, the interesting fact in regard to these prosecutions is that they served not merely to correct a public abuse, but to reform the men who were prosecuted. In most cases these men went back to the farms and became useful members of the community.

It seems to be pretty well agreed that

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the moral conditions of the Mound Bayou colony are better than those in other Negro settlements in the Delta. Some years ago, when the question was an "issue" in the community, a committee was appointed from each of the churches to make a house-to-house canvass of the colony in order to determine to what extent loose family relations existed. The report of this committee showed that there were forty families in the colony where men and women were living together without the formality of a marriage ceremony. As a result of this report the people of the town gave notice that these forty couples would have to marry within a certain length of time or they would have to be prosecuted. Nearly all of them acted upon this suggestion; the others moved away.

"Since then," said Mr. Montgomery, the founder of the colony, in speaking about the matter, "we have had no trouble of this kind. Upon occasions, the women who are conspicuous in towns and cities, and who travel in the Delta, making the various camps on pay-days, and who more or less infest the larger plantations, have tried to get a footing here, but have never succeeded. They can get no place to stay, and have to leave on the next train. This is now generally known, and we have no trouble on that score."

When I asked Mr. Montgomery how he explained the fact that they had been able to obtain such good results in the way of order and morality among the people of the colony, he said: "I attribute it to the force of public opinion. The regulations that we enforce have public sentiment behind them. The people recognize that the laws, when they are enforced, represent the sentiment of the community and are imposed for their own good. It is not so easy for them to realize that where the government is entirely in the hands of white men."

One thing that has helped to maintain order in the colony is the fact that Bolivar County prohibits the sale of liquor. More than once the liquor men have attempted to pass a law that would license the selling of liquor in the county. Some years ago a determined effort was made to repeal the prohibition law. In order to secure the vote of Mound Bayou, which seems to have the balance of power in the county on this question, a "still hunt" was made among the voters in the community. A plan was arranged by which a saloon was to be established in the town and one of the citizens made proprietor.

"This scheme came very near going through," said Mr. Montgomery. "The plan was all arranged before we heard of it. Then we called a meeting, and I simply said to the people that experience in our own town had taught us that a saloon was a bad thing to have in the community. I said that if the law was passed, a colored man might run the saloon here, but in the rest of the county the saloons would be in the hands of white men. We would pay for maintaining them, however, and we would be the ones to suffer. We voted the law down, and there has been no serious attempt to open the county to the liquor traffic since."

In a certain sense, it may be said that the Mound Bayou town and colony have been a school in self-government for the colonists. They have had an opportunity there, such as Negro people have rarely had elsewhere, to learn the real meaning of political institutions and to prepare themselves for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that this is one of the few instances in which Negroes have ever organized and maintained in any Southern State a government which has gained the entire respect of the Southern people. A writer in a recent number of the Planter's Journal, published in Memphis, says:

> Will the Negro as a race work out his own salvation along Mound Bayou lines? *Quien sabe?* These have worked out for themselves a better local government than any superior people has ever done for them in freedom. But it is a generally accepted principle in political economy that any homogeneous people will in time do this. These people have their local government, but it is in consonance with the county, State, and National governments and international conventions, all in the hands of another race. Could they conduct as successfully a county government in addition to their local government and still under the State and National governments of another race? Enough Negroes of the Mound Bayou type, and guided as they were in the beginning, will be able to do so.

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In view of the oft-repeated statement that Negroes have made a failure of government wherever they have tried it, either in Africa or America, how can we account, we may ask, for the success of the Mound Bayou colony?

In the first place, I should say it was due in part to the fact that the colony is small. I think it will be found that in most cases where a people have learned to govern themselves they have taken their first lessons in small communities. In fact, government in the United States has grown gradually out of the Town Meeting, where the interests of all individuals were so closely knit together that each member was able to feel and understand his responsibility to every other as he could not so readily have done elsewhere.

Another reason why this town has succeeded thus far is, I believe, because it is a pioneer work of Negroes themselves. The men who came and settled in this town have had an opportunity to grow up with it, and the growth of the town has been an education to them. Besides, in this town Negroes are not merely inhabitants, but they are owners, and they feel the responsibility of ownership. They possess the land, they own the stores, the cotton-gins, the bank, and the cotton-seed oil mill.

More than any other one thing, however, the Mound Bayou colony owes its success, I suspect, to the vision, the enterprise, and the public spirit of the men who have been its leaders—Isaiah T. Montgomery, the founder, and Charles Banks. These men have clearly seen that their own permanent success is identified with the success of the people by whom they were surrounded, and that their greatest opportunities are in helping to build up the members of their own race.

I have spoken in what preceded of what Negroes are doing in the way of self-government in towns like Mound Bayou, and of what Negroes are doing through the Law and Order Leagues, as in Baltimore, to secure the enforcement of the law in the communities in which they live. I should like to say a word, in conclusion, of another organization which, although it has not sought to exercise any direct influence in securing good government and the proper enforcement of the law, has done much to bring about better conditions in this and other directions among the people where it exists. I refer to what is known as the Farmers' Improvement Society of Texas, one of the most interesting of the many organizations of colored people which have sprung up since emancipation, and one that has exercised an inspiring and helpful influence upon the people it has reached.

This society, which had a membership in 1908 of 9,256 among the Negro farmers of Texas, was organized in 1895, under the leadership of R. L. Smith, of Paris, Texas. It was the outgrowth of a village improvement society which Mr. Smith organized in Freedmantown, which was the name given to the colored quarter of Oakland, Texas, where he was teaching at the time. It is an interesting fact in this connection that Mr. Smith received the suggestion for the organization of this society from reading an article in the Youth's Companion describing the work of the Village Improvement Society in Litchfield, Connecticut. This circumstance suggests one of the benefits which the art of reading conferred upon the colored people of which we do not usually take an account.

While the first purpose of this society was to save money for its members by purchasing provisions in common and in large quantities, it eventually sought to improve its members in every direction. In order to do this Mr. Smith decided to adopt the forms of fraternal organizations and confer degrees, first upon those who succeeded in getting out of the chronic condition of debt in which they lived, and, second, upon those who, in the comprehensive language of Mr. Smith, "made the most progress in civilization."

The degrees were twelve in number. The first degree was conferred upon the member who succeeded in "running" himself three months without opening an account; the second, upon the member running himself six months; the third, nine months; and the fourth, twelve months. The fifth was conferred upon the members who maintained themselves the entire year and had a surplus of twenty-five dollars; the sixth, the same with a surplus of one hundred dollars; the sev-

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enth, the same with a surplus of one hundred and fifty dollars; and the eighth, with a surplus of two hundred dollars; and so on up to the twelfth degree, which was called the Grand Patriarch degree, and entitled its possessor to membership in the annual convocation without election, "thereby creating," as Mr. Smith explains, "a permanent delegateship of successful members who had worked out their salvation and were actually fitted for leadership by growth in the essentials of civilization."

In 1907 members of the organization owned 71,439 acres of land, which were worth considerably over one million dollars. The estimated value of their live stock was $275,000.

In 1906 the Farmers' Improvement Association, having raised among its members something over twelve hundred dollars, purchased land and started an Agricultural College. The purpose of the society was to provide a school in which their sons and daughters could have the sort of training that would prepare them to stay on the farm, and not leave it for the doubtful advantages of the city.

R. L. Smith is one of the younger generation of colored men. Born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1861, he was a student for a while during Reconstruction days at the University of South Carolina, but was eventually starved out when the law passed which cut off the funds for the scholarships of negro students. He afterwards graduated at Atlanta University, returned to Charleston, and ran a Republican paper. That enterprise naturally failed with the downfall of the Reconstruc tion government in the South, and Mr. Smith decided to go to Texas and begin life anew as a teacher.

Although he had intended to keep out of politics after leaving South Carolina, he found himself, in 1895, running for the Legislature of Texas. Much to his surprise, he was elected, a majority of white voters having given him their support. "Since the white people," said Mr. Smith in relating this experience, "were kind enough to say that a man who felt so much interest in the upbuilding of his own race should be indorsed in some way by the whites, I thought that the race problem was solved sure enough."

Mr. Smith has continued in the work which he began, and, although he has had one or two offices under the Federal Government since that time, he has never permitted that to turn him aside from the important original work which he has undertaken for the improvement of the Negro farmers in Texas.

In spite of Mr. Smith's election to the Legislature, the race problem is not yet solved in Texas. Nevertheless, at our annual Negro Conference at Tuskegee, Mr. Smith has never failed to be present and to report progress.

MOROCCO AND THE POWERS

BY F. E. CHADWICK

REAR-ADMIRAL UNITED STATES NAVY (RETIRED)

AS one reads the news of the present Spanish adventures in Africa, and of the coincident difficulties in the Peninsula itself, the perennial phrase, "Poor Spain!" rises in one's thoughts and on one's lips. It is a most melancholy piece of business, not unlike that in which the sister peninsula of Italy engaged some years since on the Red Sea, and having, in a way, the same causes: a desire not to be left behind in the struggle for the possession of lands which, because they belong to people thought less civilized, are regarded as open to seizure for the purposes of commercial exploitation; a view which traverses a fundamental principle of Christian, equally with what should be one of international, morality.

In this present instance one need not look farther than the arrangement signed April 8, 1904, between Great Britain and

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France. The agreement was a purely selfish arrangement; a trade, in which the question of benefit to Morocco played no part whatever. To quote the Spectator of April 16, 1904, "In Egypt the French Government recognizes the predominant position of Great Britain, promises not to impede her work by any suggestion that the occupation is temporary, and agrees to a great modification in the functions of the *Caisse de la Dette*. . . . The result will be . . . a consequent solidification of the British position in the country. . . . In compensation . . . the British Government acknowledges France's predominant position in Morocco, and agrees that if that anarchic country is to be regenerated by European influence, the agency must be that of France. On the other hand, France is not to annex or fortify the coast opposite Europe; while she is to make arrangements with Spain, as being exceptionally interested in the fate of Morocco, which shall be agreeable to that power in form as well as in substance. Moreover, British commerce is to retain all the immunities it now enjoys by treaty, and is always to be considered as entitled to equality with that of France, even as regards the passage of British goods through French territory."

There were other "trades;" as the abandonment of the "Newfoundland shore" by the French for certain concessions in Bigeria, which need not be dwelt upon. The great deal was that of Egypt and Morocco, which, with the lesser ones, was sprung upon a surprised Europe. For it must be remembered that no other Power was consulted.

It is no wonder that there was wrath in Germany, which also had an eye Moroccoward; nor is it to be wondered at that the Moors themselves, who had always looked to England as the buffer against the designs and bullying of other states, and particularly against France, on account of the proximity of Algeria, should have been deeply moved.

Morocco to-day is practically as it has been for many ages. There is not a road, nor, speaking broadly, a wheeled vehicle, in the country. The whole traffic is by caravan. The people live the life which was lived by Abraham and by his kind through untold centuries. In costume, habit of life, tribal arrangements, they have not changed within the memory or even tradition of man. It suited them; they wished no change. A great and rich land, a land larger than France, thus laid at the door of Europe, which, with the modern passion for forcing its own kind of civilization upon all races, could not resist the temptation to exploit it and reduce its wonderful picturesqueness to the commonplaceness of "civilization."

It is true that Morocco is decadent; the Mohammedan's idea of democracy, which sees no difference between man and man so long as he accepts Mohammed as his prophet, has brought about a mixture of negro blood in the country which has been fatal to the finer qualities of the Moor. The system of multiple marriages brought into the Moorish harems great numbers of black women, whose children stood on the same social plane as the children of the white race, of which the true Moor and Berber form a part. Thus, while in the forefront of civilization during their occupancy of Spain, when they were the greatest builders, the greatest mathematicians, the best agriculturists of their age; while they built great cities in Spain and in their own land, they now no longer even repair what has been left them. Their proximity to the inferior races of Africa has destroyed their initiative. While there are still many of unmixed blood, the great mass of the millions of their population vary through all the shades of black intermixture. This, be it said, is a fate which no part of the western littoral of Southern Europe has escaped; Naples, Sicily, and Portugal having especially suffered, the population of the last two regions showing particularly the effect of contact with the dark races.

At a period when a strong and masterful head was more than ever necessary, Morocco was unfortunate in having a Sultan succeed who had none of the qualities of a great governor. Mulai Abd-el-Aziz came to the throne a mild-tempered, amiable boy. He had no education to offset his want of strength, and he became the victim of certain European influences by which he was exploited in the most selfish manner. He had vague ideas of

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the benefit of the adoption of European things. He thus invested in motor cars (I was told that he had thirty-two when I was last in Morocco), with which he careered about the great court of his palace; he had gold kodaks set with jewels; he had bicycles; he played tennis. His Europeanization, untempered as it was by common sense, gave deep offense to his subjects, the most fanatical of the races of Islam.

England at this time might have steered him in a better path, but the Englishman of most influence at the court, who had taken service many years since under the Moroccan Government, and over whom the British Government should have exercised a better influence, seems to have had no more strength of character or wisdom than the man he served. Great sums were thus wasted in banalities, and the financial situation became desperate.

Meanwhile the central Government was pestered by every foreign representative, excepting those from America and Great Britain, for concessions of various sorts. France, Belgium, Germany, and, in a minor way, Italy, were all grasping for such. Did Germany, for example, get a contract for coining money (as she did), the French representative stepped forward and demanded for Frenchmen a contract to coin the same amount. International jealousy thus stood in the way of any improvements, improvements which the Moors, though not anxious for them, would not of themselves have prevented.

In the nature of things, the Anglo-French agreement was to bring trouble. It was impossible for Germany to stand by and see Morocco delivered over in such a manner when, from a commercial point of view (and this of course in this age dominates all others), she was as much concerned prospectively as either of the others. The outcome was the Algeciras Conference, the only real result of which was the bombardment of Casablanca, the killing of many Moors, and the occupancy of the region by a French army; all at vast expense to France, which was to have been the chief beneficiary. But, Casablanca occupied by France, it was Spain's turn to make an advance, and this she did in the region which was understood to be her "sphere of influence," with the sad results we have just seen, and which will continue. For Spain is not now facing men armed with the old Moroccan muzzle-loader fit only for the *feu de joie* of the *fantasia*, the use of which by the Moors made Spain's victory in 1860 so easy. For years modern arms have been pouring into Morocco, and the Spanish Mauser is met by Moorish Mauser, or weapon equally good. And if Spain is defeated, what then? Must Spanish honor be redeemed by still more Spanish blood? and must Spanish treasure which Spain can ill spare be poured out for the possession of that which the Spanish people do not want, and in which their Government would not have ventured an attempt to extend its influence, but that it cannot stand by and see a region, naturally more Spain's by proximity and racial likeness than it is France's, wholly given over to French influence? Spain has always felt that if Morocco is to go to any European Power, it should go to her. And, however smooth the outward aspect of the diplomacy of the subject, this deep-seated feeling will finally "out." Whatever the nominal cause of the present difficulty, it will at last be found in the deep jealousy on the part of Spain of any other paramount influence in Morocco. She has plunged into an adventure the end of which no one can forecast, but the beginning of which, as said, was in the secret convention in which England practically gave France a country no more hers to give than was Belgium or New Jersey. If Morocco was to be "penetrated," peacefully or otherwise, it should have been by the consent of all concerned, not by the secret arrangement of two interested Powers which used Morocco as an asset in a trade. Such action as that of Great Britain and France was sure to bring a Nemesis, and to none has it come more fully than to Great Britain. The *entente* with France, received with such rejoicing, meant bitterness with Germany and an arousing of the German spirit, which resented being diplomatically ostracized; meant the laying down of new and much more formidable ships, the support of Austria by Germany in the Balkan crisis, the command by Germany to Russia to keep hands off in the latter; all of which has been met by Great Britain with a vast

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increase of naval armament and a budget which threatens a deficit in the gigantic sum of £15,000,000. And in addition it has brought to England an intensity of anti-Germanic feeling which threatens the peace of the world. This is part of the price which England is already paying for what some of her own people, as Lord Rosebery, for example, seem inclined to look upon (and rightfully, from our own neutral standpoint) as a grievous diplomatic mistake.

It is true that Germany has apparently now become satisfied with the Moroccan situation, thanks, it is said, to the interest of the Krupps in the iron mines on account of which poor Spain is now fighting; but the harm was already done and international hatred in full play before Germany's deferred contentment.

Says an English writer, including also the Anglo-Russian arrangement as to Persia: "We have silenced every voice which might, in Germany, have seconded our plea for the reduction of armaments. Even the Social Democrats laugh at the patent insincerity of a pacifism which seeks, by professing disinterested aims, to snatch an advantage for itself amid a struggle for predominance. The end of this gigantic rivalry is beyond the range of our vision." That English statesmen of the time should have been so blind as to the inevitable results of the agreement of 1904 is simply another accentuation of the truth of Oxenstiern's famous remark. The agreement was not a correct and upright dealing with others, and for such nations must suffer as well as individuals.

THE NEW BOOKS

Mr. Charles Wellington Furlong is known to Outlook readers not only as an artist, but as a writer. Two of the chapters of his newly published book, "The Gateway to the Sahara," appeared first in The Outlook. The volume records the experiences of Mr. Furlong in the last Turkish possession in Africa, the little-known state of Tripoli, in Barbary. Its contents include "an insight into this most native of the Barbary capitals, its odd and fascinating customs, industries, and incidents; a view of those strange and interesting people who inhabit the oases and table-lands of Tripolitania, their primitive methods and patriarchal life;" a narrative of a trip, not entirely peaceful and uneventful, made by the author alone with Arabs over some two hundred miles of the great desert, and a description of the daily life of the Saharan caravans and of the characteristics of the animal which alone makes them possible, the camel. Mr. Furlong's readable narrative is accompanied by many admirable illustrations, some in color, from his own brush and from photographs made by him. The pictures reflect not only the character of the people of this unfamiliar land, but the atmosphere and mystery of the desert land on whose borders they live. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50.)

It is not often that a scholarly monograph concerned primarily with the technique of a subject is made so attractive to the general reader as "The Stage History of Shakespeare's King Richard the Third," by Miss Alice I. Perry Wood. This is largely because of the romantic stage history of this play. Miss Wood tells us that, "presented at first by the best company of London, and possibly at Court, it became the favorite of strolling comedians, inaugurated the Shakespearean drama in America in primitive colonial structures, was played for Cherokee Indians, before the Hawaiian King, in German-American theaters, as travesty, burlesque, circus attraction, by children's and by women's companies, . . . and has probably launched a greater number of actors upon their career than any other play." The story of the development of the actual presentation of "Richard the Third" in the successive periods of English acting down to the productions by Booth and Irving is told, not merely in detail that shows careful study, but with analytical and comparative methods of real literary value. Especially interesting is the attempt to fit the known theories of the Elizabethan stage to the first production of this history-drama. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.25.)

Hermann Sudermann, the author of "Magda" and "The Joy of Living," in his new volume, "Roses," presents four one-act plays, one of which is a pleasant comedy of a young student and a princess incognita—a little play which has humor in it and leaves a pleasant taste in the mouth. The other three plays are studies of feminine pathology of the most pronounced type, chiefly interesting, so far as subject is concerned, because they bring out anew the tendency of the recent German drama and fiction, than

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which there has been nothing more definitely unwholesome in literature. These plays are brief, and deal with the psychological moment. They are distinctly effective, and are not lacking in dramatic or literary quality; but a more dreary view of life than they present, or a more melancholy glimpse into German society, if they are to be taken as authentic, would be difficult to imagine. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.25.)

Mr. Hewlett, who has made some very successful experiments in the literary manner of the late Middle Age and of the Renaissance, and who has, with some sacrifice of originality, struck the Meredithian note in dealing with modern subjects, has gone back to a classic subject in "The Ruinous Face." This is an interpretation of Helen of Troy as a woman who protests against the compelling charm of her own physical beauty, and in her relations with her husband, Menelaus, with Paris, her abductor, and later with Eutyches, her faithful attendant, revolts against passion and prays for love. The key of Mr. Hewlett's interpretation is in these words, addressed by Helen to Odysseus:

> Nay, not so But I knew very well that he desired me for his solace and delight, as other men have done and still do; but to be craved is one thing and to be loved is another thing I am not all fair flesh, Odysseus I am wife and mother and I would be companion and comforter of a man Now I know of a truth that my husband loveth me dearly; and I sicken of Paris, who maketh me his delight Hateful to me are the ways of men with women Have I not cause enough to hate them, these long years a plaything for his arms, and a fruit to allay the drought of his eyes? Am I less a woman in that I am fair, or less woman grown because I can never be old? Now I loathe the sweet lore of Aphrodite, which she taught me too well; and all my hope is in that Blessed One whom men call Of Good Counsel. For, behold, love is a cruel thing of unending strife and wasting thought; but the ways of Artemis are ways of peace and they shall be my ways.

He must be a bold man who attempts to sketch the most beautiful woman in history, and it cannot be said that the illustrator has been successful in giving us the face that "launched a thousand ships." (Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.)

When the fashion passes that now obliges story writers and their publishers to decorate book covers with pictures of perfectly beautiful girls, perhaps a new style of fiction will be demanded. "Daphne of Fitzroy Street" (Doubleday, Page & Co.), a lovely creature born of E. Nesbit's imagination, and "Beechy" (Stokes Company), the world-compelling opera singer enshrined in a tale by the Baroness von Hutten, are both exceptionally charming, and in different ways rule their worlds by feminine wiles. Both dominate the lives of rather unworthy men, and, we are led to believe, are united to them in perfectly legal form in the end. There is less bravado in Daphne than in Beechy, and far less assumption of world wisdom by the first than the second writer. Miss Edith Rickert does not rise to her best in "The Beggar in the Heart" (Moffat, Yard & Co.), but she writes an entertaining story of a young old maid who lives with and loves her poor neighbors, makes beautiful pottery for a living, and finally marries her lordly lover. In "The Title Market" (Dodd, Mead & Co.) Emily Post treats an old theme flattering to our National pride with some freshness. The story flows smoothly until the American heiress returns to her American lover, but the closing scenes are rather too well arranged to be convincing—everything really could not turn to John's profit in real life. There are some curiosities in character and custom in "The Dominant Dollar" (McClurg & Co.), by Will Lillibridge, and just these keep the reader's attention, in spite of an inward protest against another beautiful girl face on the cover. The power of money is shown to be for good, and that in unusual ways. "Priscilla of the Good Intent" (Little, Brown & Co.) is the heroine of a romance of the Grey Fells by Halliwell Sutcliffe, and is one of the many well-constructed, solid bits of fiction turned out by English writers every year. Love for Priscilla works reform in the youth whose frivolous life had promised only disaster.

In "The Old Town" Jacob A. Riis recalls his boyhood in Denmark, and weaves into the simple tale many characteristic bits of pathos and humor. He relates the history and legends of his Danish birthplace, but dwells with evident joy upon the more recent days when he went to school and played in the fields with his friends there. There are a freshness and a sincerity about all that Mr. Riis writes that invariably win a quick response from his readers. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.)

A new one-volume edition of the "Memoirs of an American Lady," by Mrs. Anne Grant, of Laggan, appears at the right moment, when our attention has been directed to historical events on the shores of the Hudson. Madame Schuyler was the central figure in Dutch society in Albany previous to the Revolution. Mrs. Grant spent many of her girlhood days in the company of "Aunt," as she called her, and her memories are full of loving reverence. Her original mind shines through her old-fashioned diction, and her elegant phrases are varied by keen comment upon the growing frivolity distressing even in those days. Elegant females glide across the scene, but lofty reflections give way to equally delightful descriptions of manners and customs in early Albany. As a contemporary account it is valuable and interesting. (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $2.50, net.)

Any medium likely to call the attention of boys and girls to the history of our country is welcome, and in the "Short American History by Grades," by Mr. Everett Barnes, the author has told the story of our National life in simple, sensible style from the days of Columbus to the election of Theodore Roosevelt. The necessary European events have been judiciously interwoven with the Amer-

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ican story. Especially good is the chapter dealing with the Civil War, its causes and the purposes of Lincoln being clearly brought out. In short, three points requisite in a narrative of history seem to have been successfully covered; these are to impart information, to foster healthy National pride, to cultivate a taste for historical reading. (D. C. Heath & Co., New York. $1.)

Chief among interesting present-day movements is the new Italian Renaissance—that triple rebirth, religious, moral, philosophical. The word "rebirth" may be too strong. Perhaps reawakening were better. At all events, to detect it one need not have so delicate an ear as to hear the grass grow. Nor need one even keep one's ear to the ground in order to detect the subterranean murmur of the hidden springs of the Italian new life. No, that new life has been openly and strikingly signalized by the Modernist movement in the Roman Catholic Church, and by the novels of Antonio Fogazzaro and Dora Melegari. The last named, who, as the editor of Mazzini's letters, has naturally absorbed much of his inspiring convictions, now publishes a volume of philosophical essays, "Chercheurs de Sources." They appear in French, their author being equally at home in French or Italian, but her aim in the present publication is doubtless to show to the world at large through the medium of the more widely spoken language something of what the thoughtful people of Italy are discerning in their new Renaissance and its sources. This author's book is also a summary of sensations. What the individual sees, feels, does, is here set forth so that he who runs may read. The volume seems specially addressed to women, to parents, and to educators. If we find some things in this book which seem commonplaces, we also find much that shows an individual point of view, and the point of view, as well, of the new Italy. (Fischbacher, Paris.)

A deeply human as well as historical interest attaches to the two volumes published in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Protestant missions in Japan—Dr. Otis Cary's "History of Christianity in Japan." In no other country has it had such a history; in no other has so large a percentage of leading men adhered to it in its beginnings. Two beginnings it has had. Thirty years of rapid growth followed Xavier's advent in 1549; then, apparently through apprehension of foreign control, a bitter persecution succeeded in its apparent extirpation. Yet half a century ago many descendants of the martyrs gave welcome to the missionary's return to the devastated field. The first volume is given to this story in its account of Roman Catholic and Greek orthodox missions to the present time. With equal fullness the story of Protestant missions is related in the second volume, its stages coming in the reversed order, persecution first, rapid growth last. Official documents, narratives of events, and relations of personal experience are skillfully woven together by the scholarly historian, now more than thirty years an actor on the scene. The national jealousy of foreign influence which wrecked the earlier beginning seemed at one time to imperil the later, but that danger has passed. Although still numerically weak, Christianity is now unquestionably a recognized and growing force in Japan. Its efficiency, both in philanthropic movements and in the field of social reform and progress, is admitted by the Japanese to the discredit of their native religions. There is no other work on the subject which compares in interest or in value with this. (The F. H. Revell Company, New York. $2.50 each.)

Professor Isaac Taylor Headland, of Peking University, goes far, in his recent intimate study of "Court Life in China," towards bringing the remarkable late Empress Dowager within our comprehension as woman and ruler, and quite succeeds also in making Chinese officials and people take their proper place in the world's history. The author's style is engaging, and his knowledge and use of facts are unimpeachable. The White Peril has been clearly more dangerous to the Orient in the past than the much-dreaded Yellow Peril can be to us. England's dealings with China have been a disgrace, and the treatment of her country by Western nations, in Dr. Headland's opinion, accounts for many of the Empress Dowager's deeds. The book is just to all, appreciative of the Chinese, and hopeful that increasing knowledge among us will result in greater respect for Chinese statesmanship and honesty. (The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.50.)

No one can read the "Home Letters of General Sherman" without being conscious of electrical contact with a nature of exceptional strength and contagious energy. If one's memory goes back to the early days of our Civil War, the impression made is painful in its intensity. General Sherman was not buoyant. He felt the gravity of the National problem, and from personal knowledge understood clearly the dangers that beset both North and South. During the first years of the war his letters are grim pictures of undisciplined and often cowardly troops, whose conduct filled him with disgust. As the effect of his rigorous discipline began to show, and as his position became more assured, and the hated politicians let him more alone, his spirits rose, and his letters were more hopeful. It is a fine study of gradual growth in efficiency, and the contrast between the beginning and end of the war is really wonderful. The early letters are of interest as showing the conditions under which Sherman's character was formed, but the war-time correspondence is truly thrilling, though couched in the cool, measured language characteristic of the great general. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2, net.)

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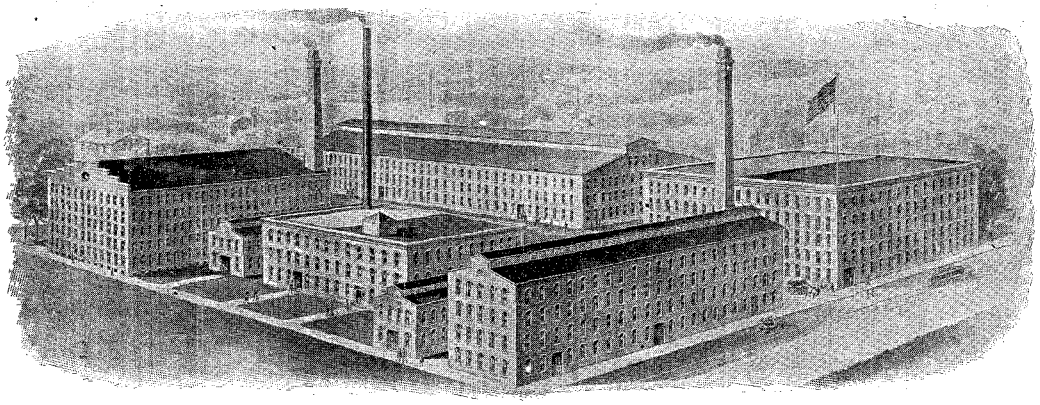
on behalf of



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And when *your* friends came and saw it work —saw it, as often happens, take a *quart measure full of dirt* out of only **10** *feet square* of carpet that had *just been swept by a broom*—saw it do this while scarcely making a sound and *raising not a particle of dust whatsoever*—well, don't you think that they, too, would rush in orders?

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